

PUNJAB GAZETTEERS,

MANDI STATE,

1920.

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General view of Mandi town from the N.-W.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

PREFACE.

The present edition of the Mandi State Gazetteer was compiled by Mr. Emerson, I.C.S., late Settlement Officer and Superintendent; my connection with the work has been confined to slight additions and alterations, bringing it right up to date, and to the correction of the proofs.

The thanks of the Darbar are due to Dr. Hutchinson and Dr. Vogel for the section dealing with the political history of the State, to Dr. Vogel and Pandit Hira Nand Shastri for notes on Archæology, to Mr. G. C. L. Howell, C. S., for an account of the fisheries, and to Mr. H. L. Wright, I.F.S., for the sections on the flora, fauna and forests. Lala Sri Gopal, Sub-Divisional Officer, furnished historical data to the authors of the political history, and in addition collected material of general interest. The illustrations are mostly the work of Mr. H. L. Wright.

J. R. S. PARSONS, I.C.S.,

Superintendent, Mandi State.

MANDI:

The 18th June 1919.

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CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTIVE.

SECTION A.—Physical Aspects.

Boundaries.

THE Mandi State with an area of approximately 1,200 square miles is situated between 31°·23′ and 32°·4′ N. and 76°-40′ and 77°-22′ E. For the greater part of its boundary it marches with the Kángra district—the Kulu sub-division on the east, the Pálampur *tahsíl* on the north and the Pálampur and Hamírpur *tahsíls* on the west. On the south it is bounded by the Suket State, and on the south-west it touches the Biláspur State.

Its extreme length from close to Baijnáth on the north-west to the south-eastern corner on the Bisnu is 54 miles, and its breadth from the Dulchi pass to the Biláspur border is about 33 miles

Rivers.

The river Beás flowing first roughly from east to west and then in a north-westerly direction divides the State into two unequal portions, of which the southern is the larger. It enters the State close to Bajaura, forming the boundary between Kulu and part of the Sanor *kárdári* for about 10 miles, and then flows through Mandi territory on both banks. As far as the town of Mandi, which is situated on the left bank, its course is westerly, but it there turns to the north for a few miles, after which it runs in a north-westerly direction until it leaves the State at Sandhol (1,800 feet). For the greater part of its length it runs between high banks and, as it is never of great breadth, the current is swift, especially during the rains. The average fall up to Lárji is about 50 feet a mile, and from there to Mandi about 20 feet; for the rest of its course inside Mandi territory the fall is slight.

Tributaries.

Practically the whole area of the State drains into the Beás, only the south-east corner being situated on the Sutlej watershed. Within the State the principal tributaries of the Beás are on the north bank the Uhl, Luni, Rána and Binu, and on the south bank the Hansa, Tirthan, Bákhli, Jiuni, Suketi, Ranodi, Son and Bakar.

North bank.

Rising in the snowy ranges of Bara Bhangál, the Uhl drains the valley between the Nárgu and Ghoghar-ki-Dhár ranges and after a southerly course of some 40 miles through the Chuhár and Drang *kárdárís* falls into the Beás about 5 miles above the town of Mandi. As it runs in a deep gorge between steep high banks, its waters cannot be used for irrigation. The Luni rises on the western slopes of the Ghoghar-ki-Dhár, near Urla, and flowing southward about 10 miles falls into the Beás a mile above the Rána. The latter has its sources in the numerous streams which descend from Chhota Bhangál and drains the valley which lies between the Ghoghar-ki-Dhár and its parallel range to the west,

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Physical Aspects.

running southward in the State for about 10 miles through the Bhangál and Ner *kárdárís.*

North bank.

The Binu flowing south from Baijnáth forms the western boundary of the State for about 6 miles before it joins the Beás.

South bank.

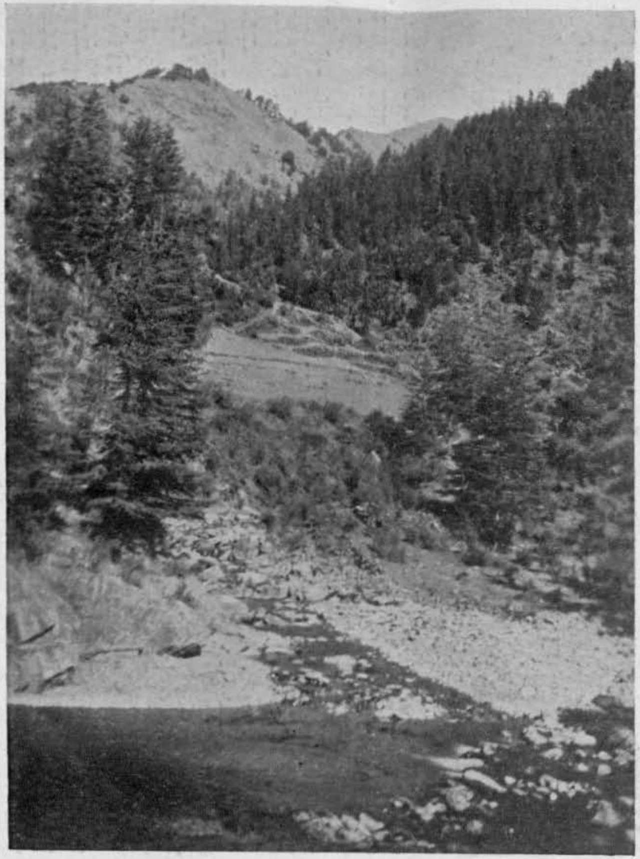
The southern tributaries are more numerous. To the extreme east of the State, the Hansa (or Bah) forms the boundary between Mandi and Plách for some 8 miles, until it joins the Tirthan at Manglaur. Thence the united streams flow northwards, still forming the boundary of the State for another 6 miles, and fall into the Beás at the point where it turns sharply eastwards at Lárji. The Bákhli rising in the Magru range runs through Mandi, Saráj and Pandoh for 20 miles to meet the Beás at Bákhal. Rising in the hills of Kamru Nág in Náchan, the Jiuni irrigates some 450 acres there and in the Pandoh *kárdári*, and joins the Beás about 14 miles above Mandi town. The Suketi enters the State from Suket territory, and becomes, after its junction with the Rati and Kansa streams, a considerable volume of water. It then flows north until it falls into the Beás close to the town of Mandi There is little irrigation from the stream itself, but the inundations during the rains are considerable and very beneficial to the land affected. The Ranodi rising in the Ropru hill irrigates some 40 acres in the Tungal *kárdári* and after a northerly course of about 11 miles falls into the Beás nearly opposite to the mouth of the Rána. The Son or Seon Khad (so called because gold is found in very small quantities in its bed) rises in the Sír-ki-Dhár hills and running northward for some 15 miles enters the Beás at the Kanda ferry. It irrigates the *kárdárís* of Kamláh and Pingla. The Bakar Khad rises in the Wáh Devi hills and then flowing northward forms the boundary between the State and the *tahsíl* of Hamírpur, until it joins the Beás at Sandhol. The local proverb well describes the stream :—

"*Bákar khad sabhi khaddán di ráni,*
"*Heonda dhúp na teondi páni,*
"*Barsáti kihán jind bac áni.*"

"The Bákar is the queen of all streams. There is no sun in winter nor water in summer, and in the rains how can one save one's life ?"

The mountain system.

The main ranges of mountains run from north to south, but the system is much broken up by innumerable transverse spurs. The most conspicuous is the Jalori range which is crossed by the high road from Kulu to Simla by a pass of that name. It divides the watersheds of the Sutlej and the Beás and on its northern slopes is unusually well wooded with deodár and blue pine forests of great value. Shikári Devi (11,060 feet) is the highest


Bákhli river.

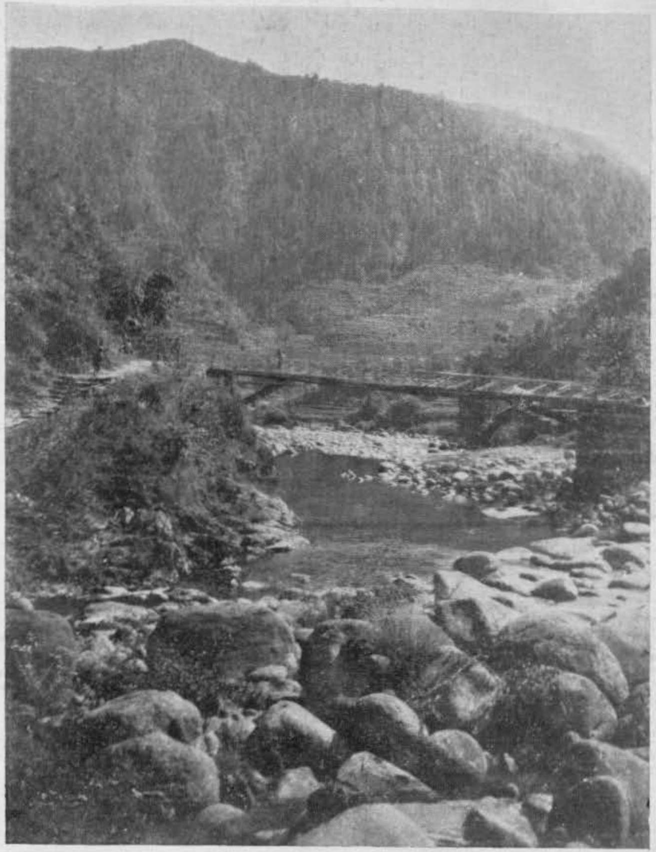

Gohar bridge.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

peak in the range, its summit being crowned by a shrine to a local goddess. The range throws off three main spurs which extend throughout the tract known as the Mandi Saráj. To the north of the Beás is the Nárgu range, a continuation of the Bír Bhangál, separating Mandi from Kulu proper, and crossed by the Bhubu pass (9,480 feet). The mountains here run up to 13,000 feet, the slopes being often very precipitous and the valleys deep.

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Almost parallel, and running down the centre of the State, is the Ghoghar-ki-Dhár, of which the slopes are fairly gentle. It is not well wooded, but contains large expanses of excellent grazing and the salt quarries of Drang and Gumán.

The Sikandar range commences inside Mandi territory from the trijunction of the State with Biláspur and Suket, and from there runs northward for fifty miles, being intersected by the Beás two marches north-west of Mandi town. The range contains some good forests of *chíl* pine, but the greater part of it consists of rich grass slopes. Its name is attributed to Sikandar Lodhi, who, about 375 years before the reign of Akbar, is supposed to have crossed it on his way to the conquest of Kángra. Popular tradition assigns the crossing to a pass on the old road to Hoshiárpur, situated a few miles from the Suket border. Sikandar is supposed to have built a cantonment close by, and a tank, situated at a short distance from the pass and enclosing a prolific spring of water, is attributed to him. The people say that there was at one time a stone in the masonry of the tank bearing the inscription:—"*Sikandar dhár na wár na pár*"—"the hill of Sikandar is not on this side nor that"—a cryptic sentence which was taken to indicate hidden treasure. A *kumhár* from Hoshiárpur is said actually to have found treasure here about thirty years ago, and cultivators when breaking up new land to cultivation have found pieces of swords and some square rupees.

Range of altitudes and character of the country.

The range of altitudes is large, the highest point being about 13,000 feet on the Kulu border and the lowest point 1,500 feet near Sandhol where the Beás leaves the State. The only area which approaches the nature of a plain is the valley of the Suketi, known locally as the Bahl, and even this tract is rather a series of plateaux than a plain. Several of the other valleys are open, and as they are often irrigable from *kuhls*, or small water channels, they contain some of the most fertile land in the State. The slope and formation of the main ranges and their transverse spurs determine the extent of the hill cultivation. Some of the hills are so precipitous as to make cultivation impracticable on a large scale; others have little depth of soil; but the majority, though unculturable over large areas, contain plateaux and gentle acclivities on which the villages with their outlying ham-

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Physical Aspects.
Range of altitudes and character of the country.

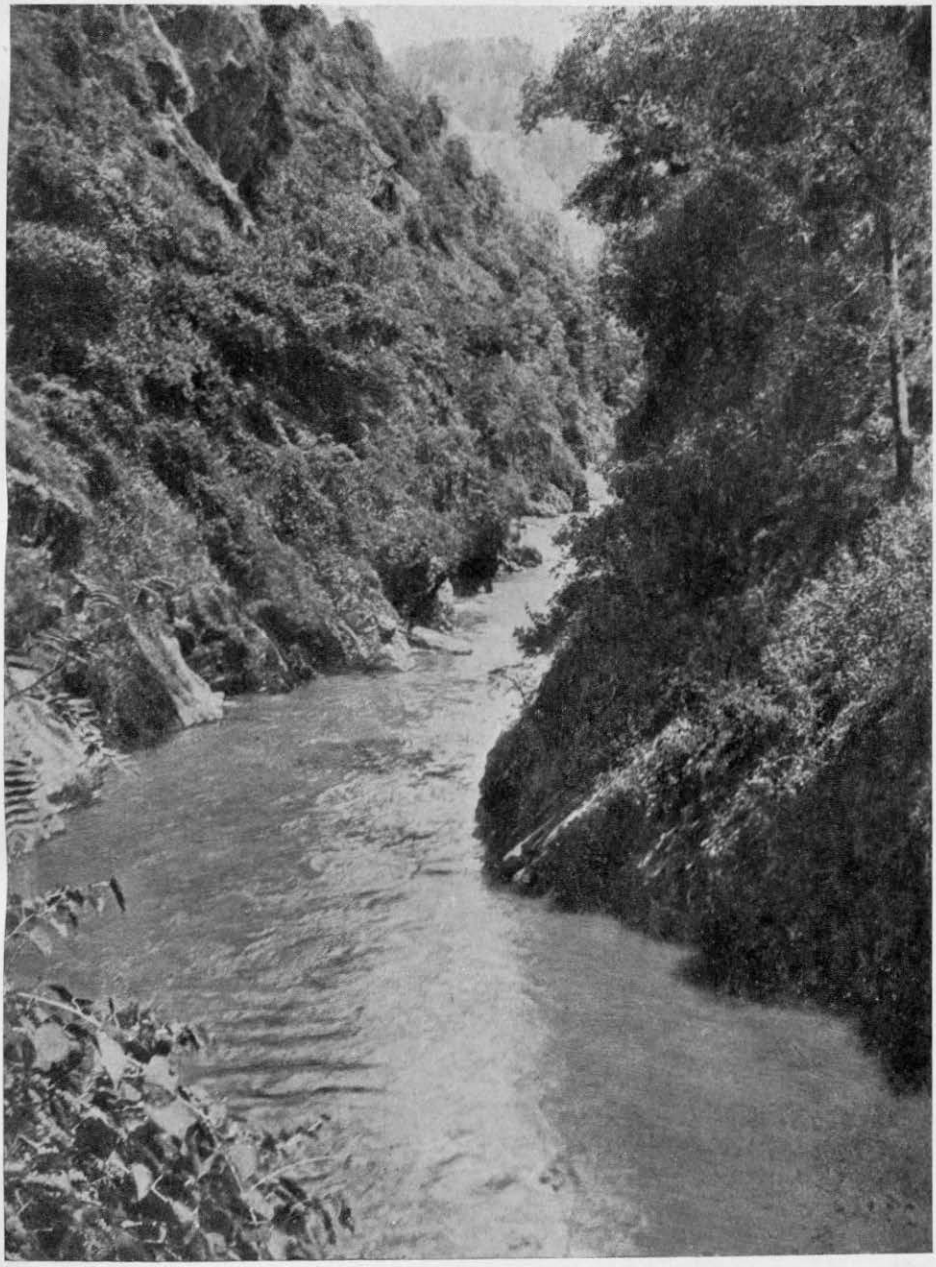
lets are situated. There are few barren areas, for, thanks to a favourable rainfall, even the waste is either covered with forest or rich grazing lands. Below 4,000 feet the forests are not extensive, the only valuable ones consisting of *chíl*; but there is considerable scrub jungle and wide areas of grass-covered slopes which support the herds of the villagers as well as many cattle from outside. In cultivated areas and in grass lands the *pípal*, mango and *tún* are often planted so that even the lower portions of the State are fairly well wooded. In the hills the forests are extensive and valuable. Deodár, blue pine, silver fir, spruce, *chíl* and various kinds of oak are plentiful, and in parts of the State the forests are spreading rapidly. Above the forest line summer grazing for the flocks is ample, and around the villages there is usually adequate waste for the herds and those flocks which are not driven away either to the lower hills in winter or the higher pastures in summer.

Below are given the altitudes of various peaks and places in the State:—

	Feet.
Ahju Fort	4,892
Gumán village (above salt mine)	5,193
Badhwáni	6,700
Nárgu (north-east corner of the State) ...	13,249
Jangartilla (west of Bhubu pass)	11,447
Bhubu pass	9,480
Jhatingri	6,610
Dhelu	4,000
Urla	4,752
Drang	3,615
Dulchi pass	6,740
Parásar Deo	8,740
Shikári Devi	11,060
Chachiot	4,690
Kandi *thána*	6,500
Bijahi	7,000
Jhungi	5,800
Shyáma Káli temple in Mandi town ...	3,000
Galma	3,004
Riwálsar	4,500
Marwáh Devi in Sikandar Dhár	6,665
Naina Devi ” ” ”	6,356
Mariári Devi ” ” ”	6,743
Bhámla	3,308
Gopálpur	3,309
Sarka Ghát	3,666
Kamláh, Fort	4,477
Sandhol	1,800

Scenery.

Although the scenery of Mandi State does not compare in grandeur with the Upper Sutlej valley, nor, according to most



The Uhl river, near Jhatingri.

Photo.-engraved printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

judges, equal the varied beauty of Kulu, it has still many charms of its own. The Saráj and Náchan hills are well wooded and the torrents numerous, while magnificent views of the snows are obtainable from many places. In the Chuhár *kárdári* the steep precipices and deep valleys are impressive, while the Uhl which flows through it is a beautiful type of Himalayan stream. Except for the deep gorge near Lárji the Beás is comparatively dull. But the Suketi valley with the river meandering through an open plain which disappears by easy gradations into the low hills around has attractions which are rarely found in the hills and is strongly reminiscent of Ireland. In the spring when the wild fruit trees are in blossom and the wheat fields just commencing to turn from green to gold, this valley presents a scene of restful beauty probably unequalled in the Punjab. The western portions of the State are far less attractive; but they too contain isolated spots of great natural beauty among which mention must be made of the Riwálsar lake and the environs of Kamláh. **CHAP. I. A. Physical Aspects. Scenery.**

As may be expected from the varied altitudes, the climate shows large variations in different parts of the State. The heat is oppressive in the lower portions in the summer, and the cold is bitter in the hills during the winter. But at every season of the year except perhaps during the rains it is possible to find some locality where the climate is healthy and bracing. The people are inured to the extremes of heat and cold, and the only tract where sickness is at all prevalent is the Bahl. In the winter a dense mist rises from the Suketi valley which lasts well into the day and is the cause of much pneumonia. In the summer the heat is great and this with the cultivation of rice gives rise to malaria. The people of this tract are physically degenerate, but elsewhere both in the lower and upper hills they are strong and sturdy. **Climate and rainfall.**

No statistics are available for the rainfall except for the past three years in Mandi town and these are as follows :—

Statistics of the rainfall for 1917—19.

Month.	1917.	1918.	1919.
January ...	...	·60	4·80
February		·30	1·60
March	...	3·90	1·60
April	...	2·20	1·70
May	...	·40	1·90
June	...	14·20	9·80
July	...	13·70	18·90
August	..	16·10	9·20
September	...	·50	2·70
October	...	·10	*Nil.*
November	*Nil*	1·10	·40
December	·50	·70	1·10
Total ...	...	53·80	53·70

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Climate and rainfall.

For the hill portion adjoining the Kulu sub-division, it may be said with certainty that the rainfall is greater than in Kulu proper, which is often without rain when Mandi has received good falls. For the tracts adjoining the Kángra district, the rainfall is certainly better than for the Hamírpur *tahsíl*, and in some parts is at least equal to that of the Pálampur *tahsíl*. It is, indeed, only in very exceptional years that the rainfall, either in the monsoon or cold weather, fails seriously. On the other hand, it is rare that the distribution is favourable to the agricultural conditions of all portions of the State.

The winter snow often comes down to 4,000 feet and has been known to fall in Mandi itself; but below 7,000 feet it does not lie long on the ground. In a normal year it disappears before the end of March from places of less elevation than 10,000 feet, and by the end of May it is found only on the highest peaks and in sheltered nullahs with a northern aspect.

The most unhealthy period of the year is the early autumn when the soil is drying after the rains and the rice fields are still damp from artificial flooding. Malaria is then common in the lower valleys and during August and September intermittent and bilious fevers and bowel complaints are prevalent. But in the hills this season is healthy and the hillmen greatly dislike coming down at that time to the lower valleys. They are very susceptible to malaria which they attribute to the smell of the ripening paddy.

Geology.

The following note by Mr. H. H. Hayden is taken from the last edition of the Gazetteer :—

"The State lies partly on rocks belonging to the central Himalayan zone of unknown age and partly on Tertiary shales and sandstones. The rocks of the central zone consist of slates, conglomerates and limestones, which have been referred to the infra-Blaini and Blaini and Krol groups of the Simla area. The sandstones and shales of the Sub-Himalayan zone belong to the Sirmur series of Lower Tertiary age and to the Siwálik series (Upper Tertiary). The most important mineral of the State is rock salt. The age of the salt is quite uncertain, but it appears to be connected with the Tertiary beds."

Flora.

The flora of Mandi has never been completely investigated. The greater part of the State closely resembles the Simla district, which has been very thoroughly dealt with in Collett's Flora Simlensis, and it is safe to assume that this describes equally well the flora of Mandi, except in the lower parts of the State, where the vegetation is more tropical, and species are found which have no place in the Simla flora. In this part of the State, the vegetation is characteristic of the lower hills of the western

Himalayas and approaches very closely to that of parts of the Punjab plains. The more prominent trees of this region are the *simbal* bombax malabaricum), the mango (mangifera Indica), the *tún* (cedrela toona), several species of acacia and albizzia, the *sálambra* (odina Wodier), two species of terminalia, and the *jáman* (eugenia jambolana). Associated with these is the large *taur* climber (bauhinia Vahlii), the leaves of which are used extensively as plates. The bamboo (dendro-calamus strictus) is also indigenous in this region and is largely planted by the people near their villages. The waste land is covered with thorny shrubs, but where the grazing is very heavy these are gradually being ousted by the euphorbia (often erroneously called cactus).

The first conifer begins at elevations between 2,000 and 3,000 feet, the *chíl* (pinus longifolia) then gradually replacing the more tropical species. From here upwards, the tree-growth is distributed in more or less well marked climatic belts, the prominent elements of which are the conifers. Other factors besides elevation come into play, however, causing the characteristic trees of the successive zones to intermingle, especially near the limits of their distribution. Speaking generally, the *chíl* may be considered the prevailing conifer up to 6,000 feet, when it gives place to the deodar (cedrus deodara) and the blue pine (pinus excelsa), which occur either pure, or more usually mixed, at all elevations from 5,000 to 8,000 feet and often higher on the warmer slopes. Above these come the spruce (picea morinda) from 7,000 to 9,000 and the silver fir (abies Pindrow) from 8,000 to 10,000 feet. Each of these zones possesses a characteristic oak. At the lower elevations the *bán* or white oak (quercus incana) is not only mixed with the *chíl*, deodar and blue pine, but in association with rhododendron arboreum and pieris ovalifolia also forms extensive forests of its own. At 7,000 feet it is replaced by the *mohru* or holly oak (quercus dilatata) and the green oak (quercus glauca), while in the upper zone the red or *kharsu* oak (quercus semecarpifolia) intermingles with the spruce and fir.

Above 7,000 feet the flora is almost entirely temperate in character, and there are few plants which do not belong to one of the European families. On the cooler glades of the higher hills many trees of European genera are found, such as the walnut, elm, horse-chesnut, maple, holly and poplar, often accompanied with a dense mass of undergrowth of hill bamboo, ferns and shade-loving herbaceous plants. The most common shrubs at the higher elevations are the berberis, indigofera and desmodium, while the sharp thorned *bekhal* (prinsepia utilis) is to be found growing on waste land throughout the State.

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Physical Aspects.

Flora.

The herbaceous vegetation of Mandi, particularly at the higher elevations, contains many species of great beauty, which give to the country, except during the winter months, the aspect of a wild garden. The coming of spring brings with it the violet, larkspur, wild strawberry, an anenome and one of the wild geraniums, while in the high level forests primula denticulata and viburnum fœtens burst into flower almost before the snow has had time to melt; then, as the weather becomes warmer, the wild rose and clematis cover the ugly shrub growth with a mass of flowers and the *mohru* woods are spread with a carpet of irises. With the break of the monsoon, the whole country becomes covered with luxuriant vegetation. The grassy uplands are filled with potentilæ, parnassus, balsams and other gaily coloured flowers; the oaks become covered with tree ferns, while the woods contain many species of ground orchid, cautleya and roscœa. It is in the autumn, however, that the country is at its best, when the foliage is changing colour and the bright red leaves of Virginia creeper cause even the sombre deodar and spruce to take on a cheerful appearance; at this season too appears the wild narcissus, the most delicate and sweet-scented of all nature's bounties.

Many of the plants of Mandi are of considerable value to the people and in the following list of the more important trees and shrubs brief notes are given on their economic uses :—

List of the more important trees and shrubs.

Natural Order.	Botanic name.	English name.	Local name.	Economic uses.
Berberidaceæ ...	Berberis vulgaris, aristata, coriaria and lycium.	Barberry ...	*Kashmal* ...	The fruit is eaten. *Rasaunt*, an extract prepared from the root, is used as a febrifuge. Brushwood used for fuel, hedges, etc.
Malvaceæ ...	Bombax malabaricum.	Silk cotton tree.	*Simbal, Simal.*	Valuable timber in the lower hills.
Tiliaceæ ...	Grewia oppositifolia.	...	*Biyuhal, Biul.*	Wood used for the pole (*tangri*) of the field roller (*mai*); leaves for fodder. The fibres of the inner bark are made into ropes. Dry branches are used for torch wood and the fruit is eaten.
Meliaceæ ...	Melia Azedarach	The Persian lilac.	*Drek* ..	Oil is extracted from the fruits.
	Cedrela serrata...	Hill Tun ...	*Darli* ...	Timber used for furniture.
	,, toona ..	Tun ...	*Tuni* ...	Timber used for building, furniture, etc.
Celastraceæ ...	Euonymus tingens.	...	...	The inner bark yields a yellow dye.
Rhamnaceæ ...	Zizyphus jujuba	...	*Ber, beri* .	Fruit edible.

List of the more important trees and shrubs—continued.

Natural order.	Botanic name.	English name.	Local name.	Economic uses.
Sapindaceæ ...	Aesculus indica...	Indian horse chestnut.	*Khanor* ...	The seeds are made into flour and eaten; the wood is used for domestic utensils.
	Sapindus Mukorossi.	Soap-nut tree.	*Ritha, Dola*	The fruit is used instead of soap for washing clothes.
	Acer cæsium ..	...	*Mandar* ...	Walking sticks made of this wood are supposed to keep off snakes.
	Staphylea emodi	...	*Nagdaun* ..	
Anacardiaceæ ...	Rhus cotinus ...	Venetian sumach.	*Tung, Titri*	The wood is used for dyeing wool orange or scarlet; the bark and leaves for tanning.
	„ Punjabensis	...	*Titri* ..	The juice is highly corrosive and raises blisters on the skin. The heartwood is used for building, furniture, etc. Galls which form on the leaves, known as *kakri singhi*, are used for medicine.
	„ Wallichi ...		*Rikhal* ..	
	„ Pistacia integerrima.	...	*Kakkar, Kakre.*	
...	Odina Wodier ...	...	*Salámbra*...	Used for building, etc. A yellow gum is obtained from the bark and used for calico-printing.
	Spondias mangifera.	The Hog-plum tree.	*Ambára* ...	Leaves for fodder, fruit eaten, wood for fuel.
	Mangifera indica	Mango ...	*Am, Amb* ...	Timber used for building, fruit eaten.
Leguminosæ ..	Butea frondosa...	...	*Palás, Plah*	The leaves are used for fodder, as plates and for making umbrellas. A yellow dye is made from the flowers, a red astringent gum is obtained from the bark.
	Indigofera Gerardiana.	...	*Káthi* ...	Leaves for fodder.
	Ougenia—dalbergioides.	...	*Sánnan* ...	Wood for furniture and agricultural instruments; leaves for fodder.
	Dalbergia Sissoo	Shisham ...	*Sihán, Táli*	Timber tree.
	Cassia fistula ...	Indian Laburnum.	*Alih, Ambaltás.*	Seeds used as a purgative.
	Bauhinia purpurea.	...	*Karáli* .	Leaves for fodder; fuel.
	Bauhinia variegata.	...	*Kachnár* ...	Leaves for fodder; fuel.
	Bauhinia Vahlii	...	*Taur* ...	Rope is made of the stem; the leaves are used as plates, and made into umbrellas. The seeds are roasted and eaten. The wood is burnt in temples.
	Acacia arabica	...	*Kikar* ...	Timber and fuel.
	„ eburnea	...	*Kikri* ...	Ditto.
	„ catechu	...	*Khair* ...	Ditto.
	Albizzia Lebbek	...	*Siris* ...	Ditto.
	„ Stipulata	...	*Ohi* ...	Ditto.
	„ Procera	...	*Sirín* ...	Ditto.

List of the more important trees and shrubs—continued.

Natural order.	Botanic name.	English name.	Local name	Economic uses
Rosaceæ ...	Prunus puddum	...	*Pája* ...	Fodder leaves and fuel.
	„ padus	...	*Jámun* ...	Fuel.
	„ Armeniaca	Apricot ...	*Áru* ..	Fruit eaten.
	Prinsepia utilis...	..	*Bekhal* ..	Oil obtained from the seeds is used for food, illumination and external application.
	Spiræa canescens	...	*Khushti* ...	Fruit eaten.
	Rubus paniculatus.	Raspberry...	*Kálákha, lisri*	Ditto.
	„ ellipticus	...	*Ancha, ákha*	Ditto.
	Pyrus Pashia ...	...	*Kainth, segal*	Wood used for agricultural implements.
	„ lanata ...	...	*Pálo* ...	...
	„ aucuparia	Rowan ...	*Battal, rung grek.*	...
	Cotoneaster bacillaris.	...	*Riuns* ...	Used for walking sticks.
Combretaceæ ...	Terminalia belerica	...	*Bahira* ..	Fruit used for tanning and as a purgative.
	„ chebula	...	*Harda* ..	Ditto ditto.
	„ tomentosa	...	*Alsán* ...	Building timber.
Myrtaceæ ..	Eugenia Jambolana.	...	*Jáman, jumni.*	Timber and fuel; fruits are eaten.
Lythraceæ ...	Punica granatum.	Pomegranate	*Anár, dáru*	Fruit eaten; bark as a dye and for chutney.
Samydaceæ ...	Casearia tomentosa.	...	*Bheri* ...	The fruit is used as a diuretic.
Cornaceæ ...	Cornus capitata	The strawberry tree.	*Thrámal* ..	Fruit edible.
Ericaceæ ...	Pieris ovalifolia	...	*Airan, bhiul*	Fuel.
	Rhododendron arboreum.	...	*Bráh* ...	Fuel. The flowers are made into chutney and the wood into agricultural implements and domestic utensils.
	Campanulatum	...	*Kashmiri patta.*	Leaves and flowers are made into snuff.
Styracaceæ .	Symplocos cretægoides.	...	*Lojh, lodar*	A yellow dye is obtained from the leaves and bark.
Oleaceæ ..	Fraxinus floribunda.	Ash ...	*Angu* ...	Timber. Manna exudes from the bark by incision.
	Olea cuspidata	Olive ...	*Káhu* ...	Walking sticks, fuel and fodder.
Apocynaceæ ...	Wrightia tomentosa.	...	*Dudhi* ...	...
Euphorbiaceæ ...	Buxus sempervirens.	Box ...	*Summa, shamshád.*	Wood used for combs, etc.
	Phyllanthus emblica.	...	*Ambla* ...	Fruits are eaten; fuel.
	Mallotus philippinensis.	...	*Kámbal* ...	The crimson powder which covers the capsules is used for dyeing silk.

List of the more important trees and shrubs—continued.

Natural order.	Botanic name.	English name	Local name.	Economic uses.
Urticaceæ ...	Ulmus Wallichiana.	Elm	*Marihnu, maran.*	Timber.
	" Villosa ...	Elm ...	Ditto	Planted as a roadside tree.
	Celtis australis...	...	*Khirk* ...	Timber, fuel and fodder.
	Morus indica ...	Mulberry ...	*Tút* ...	Fruit eaten, timber and fuel.
	" serrata ...	Do. ...	*Chimu* ...	Domestic utensils. Excellent fodder-tree.
	Ficus bengalensis	Banyan ...	*Barkat* ...	Usually planted as a shade-giver.
	" religiosa ...	Peepul ...	*Pípal* ...	Ditto.
	" palmata	...	*Phagra* ...	Fuel; fruit eaten.
	" Roxburghii	...	*Triámbal* ...	Fodder leaves; fruit eaten.
Juglandaceæ ..	Juglans regia ..	Walnut ...	*Akhrot, khor*	Timber for building, furniture, etc.; fruit eaten.
Myricaceæ ...	Myrica Nagi ...	...	*Kaiphal, káfal.*	Timber, fuel; fodder; fruit is eaten.
Cupuliferæ ...	Betula utilis ...	Birch ...	*Bhojpatta* ..	The bark is used as paper for writing and packing and also for umbrella covers.
	Alnus nepalensis nitida.	Alder ...	*Kosh* ...	Timber; fuel; and bark for tanning.
	Quercus dilatata	Holly oak...	*Mohru* ...	Agricultural implements; leaves for fodder, bark for tanning.
	" glauca...	Green oak...	*Bánni, thira.*	Fuel and fodder.
	" incana...	White oak..	*Bán* ...	Fuel; charcoal; fodder; bark for tanning; agricultural implements, and in places for building.
	" semecarpifolia.	Red oak ...	*Kharsu* ...	As above.
	Carpinus viminea	Hornbeam	*Chír* ...	Fuel and fodder.
Salicaceæ ...	Salix alba ...	White willow	*Biuns* ...	Planted as shade-giver.
	" Babylonica	Weeping willow.	*Majnún* .	Ditto.
	Populus ciliata...	Himalayan poplar.	*Pahari pípal, chaluna*	Ditto; fuel and fodder.
Coniferæ ...	Pinus excelsa ..	Blue pine ..	*Kail* ...	Timber tree.
	" longifolia	Chil pine ...	*Chíl* ...	Ditto.
	Cedrus deodara...	Deodar ...	*Kelo* ...	Ditto.
	Picea Morinda...	Spruce ...	*Rai* ...	Ditto.
	Abies Pindrow...	Silver fir ...	*Tos* ...	Ditto.
	Taxus baccata ..	Yew ...	*Rakháli* ...	Bark used for paper making.

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Flora.

List of the more important trees and shrubs—concluded.

Natural order.	Botanic name.	English name.	Local name.	Economic uses.
Gramineæ ...	Arundinaria falcata.	Hill bamboo	*Nirgál* ...	Stems are used for pipes, basket work, etc.
	Arundinaria spathiflora.	Do.	*Garhi* ...	Ditto.
	Dendro-calamus strictus.	Bamboo ...	*Bahanj* ...	Used for building, poles, sticks, mats, chicks and basket making.

FAUNA.

Wild animals.

Mandi is well stocked with game. Black bear are common in the higher valleys, while leopard are found throughout the State, and regularly take toll of the *Gaddis*' and other flocks. Barking deer and *gural* are frequently found at medium elevations, the former usually inhabiting the shady nullahs in the oak and hard-wood forests, while the latter favour the precipitous slopes above the Beás. Pig are found throughout the lower parts of the State, and are occasionally met with as high as 7,000 feet. The inhabitants of the high-lying spruce and fir forests, the musk deer and the *serao*, are to be found in certain localities, but are by no means plentiful. Among the other animals may be mentioned the hill fox, the jackal, the porcupine, the pine marten, the *langur* and Rhesus monkeys, the flying fox and flying squirrel and the wild cat, all of which are more or less common in different parts of the State.

Game birds.

Game birds are plentiful. There are five kinds of pheasant—the *munál* (the hen of which is known as the *kardi*), the horned pheasant (locally called the *jujurána* or *ghulgar*), the *koklás* or *kwáksa*, the *chir*, and, the most common of all, the *kálij*, known locally as *kalesar* or *kolsar*. The *chikhor* is found in most parts of the State, and in certain localities quail also abound. Both the black and the grey partridge are found, the former being common at medium elevations, while the latter is to be met with only in small numbers near the Kángra border at Sandhol. There is also one species of wood partridge, whose habitat is the deodar and oak forests between 6,000 and 8,000 feet, while in the scrub forest of the lower hills both the peacock and common jungle fowl are plentiful. During the winter large flocks of blue rock pigeon come down to the fields of the Bahl and Sandhol, and the Himalayan wood pigeon can be seen in large numbers in the *kail* forests. Several species of duck pass through during the spring and autumn, resting on the lakes and streams on

Game birds.

their way to and from their breeding grounds. The woodcock is also occasionally met with. The goshawk, which is valued for sporting purposes, is caught during the autumn and winter in nets stretched along the tops of oak-covered spurs.

A close season for all kinds of game is observed from the 15th March to the 15th September, and during the rest of the year shooting is allowed only with the permission of the State ; but, as a large number of the villagers possess guns, a great deal of poaching is carried on. The shooting of the musk deer, *munál*, horned pheasant and peacock is prohibited at all times. A certain number of professional *shikárís* are employed to keep the Raja's kitchen supplied with game, while others have to present the State with a definite number of musk pods during the year.

Other birds.

No classification has yet been made of the birds of Mandi, but owing to the large range of altitudes, the number of species is very large and it may be safely assumed that it is at least as great as in Chamba where one observer counted two hundred and sixty-five varieties. Among the birds of prey the lammergeir and the golden eagle are found only in the higher altitudes; the vultures of the Punjab plains and the common kite are all found, there are several kinds of hawks and at least one falcon. Of the smaller birds, fly-catchers, shrikes, cuckoos, wagtails, bulbuls, warblers, pipits and many members of the thrush family are most common. Water birds, small and large, are numerous and many of them breed in the State. Mandi, in short, is an excellent field for the ornithologist.

Reptiles.

Poisonous snakes do not appear to be common except in the parts adjacent to Kángra where occasional deaths are reported from snake bite. The cobra is rare, but the *karait* is not uncommon and vipers are sometimes found. Non-poisonous species, and especially grass snakes, are common, the best known being the *nág* which in the hills is not the cobra but a large grass snake light brown above and of light colour below : it is worshipped by the people. Rock lizards are found everywhere during the hot weather ; and in the rains some of the oak forests are infested with leeches.

Fish.

The following note on the fisheries of the State was kindly supplied by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, C.S., late Director of Fisheries, Punjab :—

" I examined the Beás and three of its typical tributaries in these States—the whole Suketi basin, the lower waters of the Uhl and the Uttarsál Khad in September 1913. Of the latter, the Uhl contains practically no marketable fish with the exception of the mountain barbel (*sál*). Both the Uhl and the Uttarsál

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Fish.

might well be stocked with brown trout from Kulu. The Uttarsál, like most of the waters in both States, is regularly poisoned from the end of April to the break of the rains in July. The poison used is cactus juice ; other poisonous plants are also used, sometimes in combination with cactus juice. They are called *dudhla* or *balodar* (*ankar* in Kángra), *gandri* (*ganiri* in Kángra) and *sama*. Casting nets are used all the year round with a mesh of ½ to ¾ bar measure ; they kill fish of four inches long and over. The scoop net (*jáltri*) described below is also used. In September six *chhips* are erected regularly. If mountain barbel were less prolific (a 2¼ lb. female 15 inches long was found to contain 15,000 ova and the species breeds we know from April to December) there would not be a fish in the Uttarsál. The Uhl is hardly fished at all.

" *The Suketi and its tributaries.*—The whole of the Suketi valley is a vast breeding ground for fish. At one time no fishing of any sort or kind was allowed in the lower five miles of its course from the Suket boundary to the confluence with the Beás. Fishermen down the river as far as Naushera have told me that so long as this order was enforced the Beás was full of fish. Then came a period during which this stretch was dynamited regularly and openly and all restrictions on fishing were withdrawn. The effects were felt at once all down the river : and it is quite certain that the falling off in the stock of Beás mahasir, which every angler and every netsman noticed, was due to the violation of this (the only effective) sanctuary on the Beás.

" The breeding grounds consist of the main stream and five fairly important tributaries all fed by small perennial streams rising in hills averaging less than 6,000 feet in height. Their temperature rises to 80° and more, even in September. All abound in vegetation and in crabs (*masákra*), snails (*phil*) and other minute crustaceæ, and the insect life is most prolific. The bed is gravel from source to mouth. There are plenty of deep pools for big fish to lie in.

" The marketable species which spawn in these waters are :—

" (*i*) Mahasir (*serr*, *serra*, *serdu*, *khakiaru*, *chitrahtu* or *pharku*).—These fish push right up the river as soon as the rains break. I found their fry in a spring at Sadoth near Ledah on the Mandi-Hoshiárpur road on September 8th. This was at least 3,000 feet above the Suketi, and, though I have seen the barbel and salmon negotiate bad falls, I should never have believed that any fish, large or small, could find its way up some of the almost perpendicular places in its course. At every point from Bhojpur to Mandi

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I found mahasir. The water is incomparably the finest mahasir nursery I have seen. It should have swarmed with mahasir fry ; but they had nearly all been destroyed by the insensate methods of 'fishing' in vogue in both States.

"(*ii*) Oreinus sinuatus.—Mountain barbel (*sál, saloti, gugal, gungal, swáli, chith*).—These run up the Suketi in October-November and have found their way (by the outlet) into Riwálsar Lake. There they are protected rigidly, and breed freely during the autumn and early winter in these waters.

"(*iii*) Labeo diplostomus (*gid* or *geor*), which is common, though less common than mahasir.

"As to the smaller species they are (especially *toora* and *páta* and *pali*) extremely good to eat, and local taste seems to think that the smaller the fish the better it is as food.

"*Fishing Castes.*—Practically every one is a fisherman who lives near the Suketi, and kills by fair means or foul everything which swims. I found that *zamíndárs* often knew just as much (or as little) about fish as *jhíwars* for instance.

"The methods of fishing, arranged in order of popularity, are :—

"(*i*) Poison as described above. This destroys not only fish but all life in the water in which it is introduced. Its use is forbidden. But no adequate steps are taken to enforce the prohibition in either State, any more than there have been, until recent years, in British territory.

"(*ii*) Weirs (*bár*) which are built so as to block the run of spawners at the beginning and end of the rains.

"(*iii*) *Pakái*—a huge triangular dip net rigged on three long bamboos with a mesh of $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in the bight.

"(*iv*) *Jáltri*—a small elliptical dip net with a lifting line. The mesh is never more than $\frac{1}{4}''$ bar measure and generally less.

"(*v*) *Chhip*—a wicker platform trap set at the narrow end of a deflection in the stream to catch descending fish during the rains.

"(*vi*) *Jál*—an ordinary casting net : the maximum mesh as a rule is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

"(*vii*) *Nilotu*—a stake net set in shallows in July and August. This blocks the whole stream night and day.

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Fish.

" (*viii*) *Bhalla*—a three-pronged fish spear used in shallows. It takes a good eye and a good wind to run down and spear the mighty mahasir even in a shallow.

" (*ix*) *Pathiálu*—an ordinary 'long line' with hooks and snoods. I am not sure that this is used in the Suketi, but know that it is in the Sutlej in Suket territory.

" *Conclusions.*—It would be quite easy to resuscitate the Mandi Suketi stream and its tributaries."

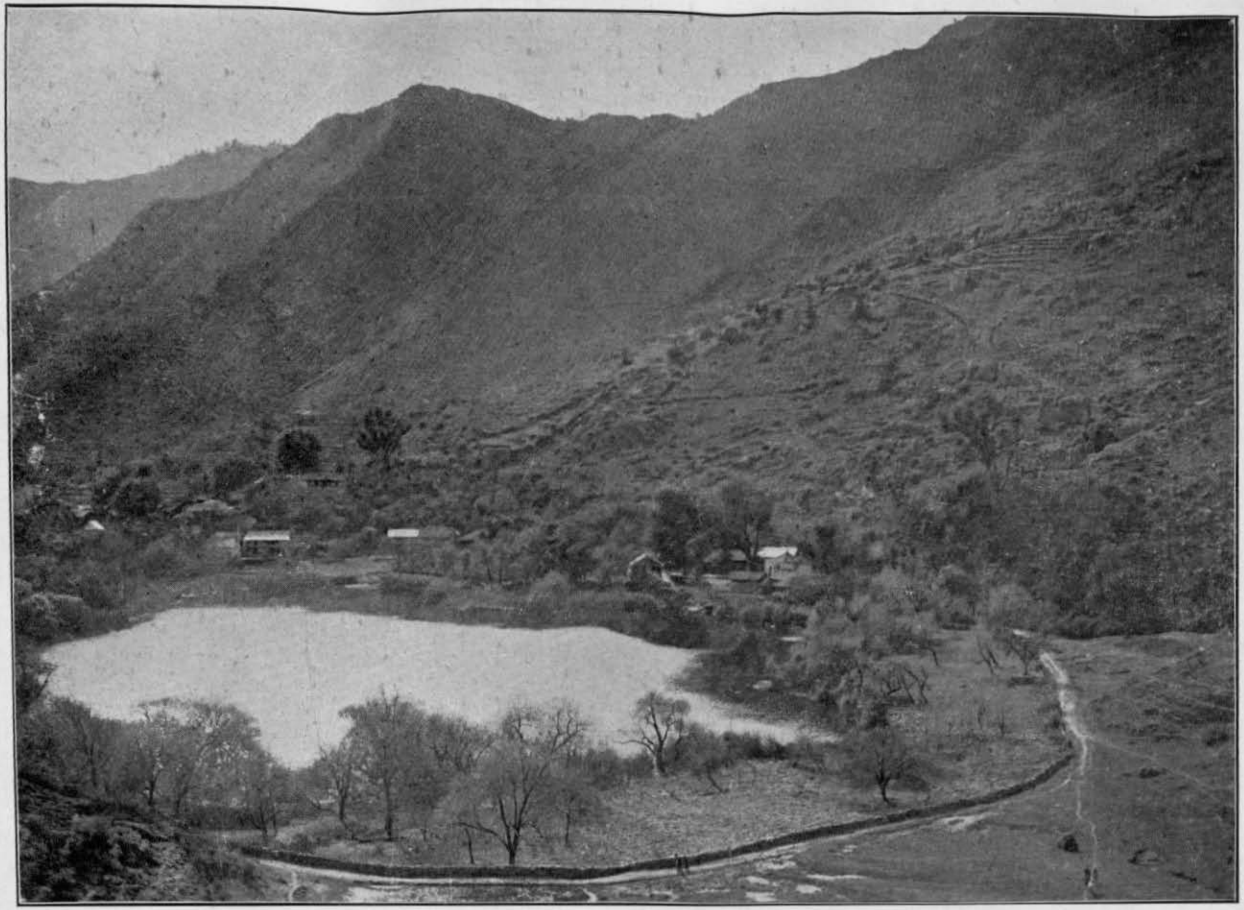
SPECIES OF FISH FOUND IN MANDI WATERS.

(1)	Barbus tor or Mahasir ...	... *Seer* (big). *Serra* (small). *Sirdu* (small). *Khakiaru.*
(2)	Oreinus sinuatus—Mountain barbel	... *Sál* (big). *Saloti.* *Gugal.* *Gungal.* *Swáli.* *Chith* (small).
(3)	Labeo diplostomus ...	... *Geor.*
(4)	Memachilus rupicola or Loach ...	... *Dundal.*
(5)	Cerrhina lotia	... *Topra.*
(6)	Barilius bendilisis	... *Páta.*
(7)	Barilius Vagra	... *Patli.*
(8)	Barbus Stigma	... *Bharta.*
(9)	Ophiocephalus gachua ...	... *Wanka Karot.*
(10)	Glyptosternum pectinopterum ...	... *Nai.*
(11)	Amblyceps Mangois ...	... *Jogni.*

GLOSSARY OF FISHING TERMS (SUKET).

Scales ...	*Chana.*	Gill cover ...	*Kan.*
Gills ..	*Kaila.*	Barbel ...	*Moch.*
Fins ...	*Phank.*	Ray of fin ...	*Konda.*
Tail ...	*Phunt.*	Centre line ...	*Lirk.*
Pores on nose...	*Totar.*	Ova	*Bati.*

Since the above note was written, the Durbar has passed a Fisheries Regulation, and has taken measures to protect the fish resources from ruinous methods of destruction. Brown trout have also been introduced into the Uhl, the upper reaches of which should become an ideal stream for anglers.



Riwálsar lake.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

SECTION B.—Archæology.

CHAP. I. B.

Archæology.

For the following account of objects of archæological interest, the material has been derived mainly from officers of the Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle, and the Durbar is, in particular, under a debt of gratitude to Dr. Vogel and Pandit Híra Nand Shástri :—

Riwálsar.

Budhism has left few monuments of interest. The *gonpa*, or Budhist shrine, at Riwálsar is of recent date, and differs little from similar sanctuaries found in Lahaul and Bushahr. On the outer wall are the Protectors of the Four Regions, painted in harsh colours, two on each side of the entrance. On the walls of the verandah there are two other frescoes, one representing the Wheel of Existence and the second a Lama or ascetic. Within the shrine is an image of Padma Sambhava, the chief object of worship, who has, however, been confused by the Hindus with the *Rishi* Lomas. According to the Brahmans, the seven floating islands of the lake were created by Shiva, in reward for the ascetic devotion of this *rishi*, and an image of the saint is preserved in a low-roofed and primitive building on the bank of the lake. A fair is held in his honour on the first of Baisákh each year and is attended by several thousands of both sexes. An earlier fair takes place in Phágan, but this is essentially of Budhist interest, a considerable number of Tibetans ,Lahulís and Kanáwarís performing the pilgrimage each year. On the rocks above the lake there are many Tibetan inscriptions, the most striking being the figure of Padma Sambhava himself who is shown with the usual attributes—a thunderbolt, a human skull and a trident crowned with three human heads.

Trilok Náth.

Except at Riwálsar, no Budhistic monument exists in Mandi, unless indeed the shrines of Trilok Náth and Panchavaktra, which are now sacred to Shiva, can be regarded as of Budhistic association. Trilok Náth, as he is represented in the Chandra-bhága valley, has been identified with the Bodhisat Avaloketeshwara and it has been suggested that the identity of Shiva with Trilok Náth in Mandi and parts of Kángra may be due to Budhistic influence.[1]

The temple of Trilok Náth was built by Sultán Devi, the pious queen of Rája Ajbar Sen, in the Kali year 2264, corresponding with the Sáka Samvat 1442 and with 1520 A.D. It is a Shiva temple erected in stone and in the Sikhara style. The cella (8′ 4″ square) contains a life-sized three-faced stone image of Shiva who is riding on a bull with Párvati in his lap. There is

[1]NOTE.—*Vide Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXX, Part I, No. I, 1902.

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also a second image, probably of Shiva, which, however, is much worn. The porch measures 7′ 8″ by 3′ 6″, and the lintel rests on two fluted pillars and pilasters. An attendant, or door-keeper, is shown on each of the two pilasters, and there are floral and animalc arvings on the capitals of the pillars. Between the pillars is the trefoil arch characteristic of Mandi architecture. The workmanship throughout is good; but the carving has suffered much from neglect and is much worn owing to the soft nature of the sandstone employed, but it is still one of the finest monuments in the State. The image which it enshrines is connected with the rite of *Sati*. It is said that the woman whose fate it was to burn on the funeral pile was brought to the temple before she mounted the pyre, and was there shown the face at the back of the idol. This was the last rite preparatory to immolation, the sight of the face being supposed to inspire the *Sati* with a frenzied desire to plunge into the flames.

The Panchavaktra Temple.

At the confluence of the Beás and Suketi is a stately Sikhara temple evidently of considerable age and dedicated to Shiva under the name of Panchavaktra (the five-faced one). The main porch or *mandap* is supported on four heavy pillars, the capitals of which are carved in flower-pot design and the bases in rosettes or lotuses. The main image is of some interest, since the five faces are not placed in one row as is usually the case with polycephalic statues, but in such a way that the fourth face is on the reverse side of the slab which is otherwise quite plain and the fifth on the top of the image slab. Thus, when seen in front, only three faces are visible. The number of arms is ten. Such images of the five-faced Shiva are not uncommon in Mandi, and since their attributes bear a definite resemblance to those of Avaloketeshwara, it has been surmised that they owe their origin to Budhism.

Normal style of architecture.

Of the ancient temples of Mandi town, it may be said in general that the architecture is good. They are chiefly in stone and in the style of Sikhara temples of the plains. They consist of a cella, surmounted by a spire and a porch usually decorated with carvings. The spire is of the usual type. In sanctuaries of a comparatively later time, however, it assumes the form of a dome, in consequence of which they appear more like mosques than Hindu temples. The larger and more important temples are also furnished with an anteroom or *mandap*. The particular feature which distinguishes them from the temples of the adjoining States is the trefoil arch which generally decorates the facade or porch. It chiefly rests on the capital of the pillars or pilasters supporting the arch which are usually fluted. The brackets are often shaped as human figurines, seated on the head of an elephant and holding the trunk in their hands. The corners are sometimes

ornamented with the figures of celestial musicians or *gandharvas*, and the whole combination produces a very pleasing effect.

The temple of Bhút Náth.

The most popular shrine in Mandi is that of Bhút Náth who is venerated as the guardian of the town and represents Shiva in his attribute of Lord of Creatures. The legend relating to the discovery of the idol is as follows:—Formerly the land on the left bank of the Beás, now occupied by the town of Mandi, was waste and there the local *zamíndárs* used to graze their cattle. One cow, though newly calved, failed to give milk for several days, and the owner, keeping a watch on her, discovered that she gave her milk to a stone. The news reached the Rája—Ajbar Sen—and shortly afterwards Shiva in a dream ordered him to dig beneath the image. The Rája did so and the idol now worshipped in the temple of Bhút Náth was discovered. So the foundation of the present city was laid; for up to the time of Ajbar Sen the capital was on the right bank of the river.

The temple is of stone in the Sikhara style, consisting of a small porch and a cella surmounted by a spire. The *sabha mandap* in front is apparently an addition. The porch is supported by fluted pillars with capitals carved in elephants, the arch between being trefoil.

The temple of Adhnári.

Of the more modern temples the finest from an artistic standpoint is the sanctuary of Adhnári, the stone image of which represents Shiva and his consort Párvati, the right half being devoted to the former and the left to the latter. Shiva is portrayed with knotted hair, a necklace of human skulls, a serpent, a musical instrument in one hand and a *damru* in the other. Párvati is shown wearing a diadem, an ear-ring and a nose-ring. To the main image is joined a slab on which the vehicles of the deities—the bull and lion—are carved. The whole measures 4′ 4″ high by 3′ 3″ broad. On the right and left respectively are images of Bhairava and Hanúmán. The building is ascribed to a Kalesar Mián of Mandi, but is incomplete. It consists of a cella, porch and *sabha mandap* and the carving throughout is rich and of considerable artistic beauty. Unfortunately, the shrine is in a poor state of preservation.

The Saláun rock inscription.

The oldest archæological record in the State is the inscription on a rock at Salánu about 1½ miles from Manglaur which is ascribed to the fourth or fifth century. It simply records that a Mahárája Sri-Chandesvara-hastin, who was the son of a Mahárája Ishvara-hastin, and belonged to the family of Vatsa, conquered in battle a Rajjila-bala and founded a town of which the name apparently was Salipuri, possibly the present village of Salri situated near the site of the inscription. These names are of no historical value as their relationship is unknown.

CHAP. I. B.
Archæology.
Art.

The State Treasury contains a good collection of paintings of historical and mythical subjects. They are evidently the work of the Kángra School which flourished in the 18th century at the courts of the Hindu princes of the Punjab hills and are remarkable for their brilliancy of colour, minuteness of decorative detail and delicacy of outline. Of the portraits that of Kesva Sen (A.D. 1595) is the oldest. The picture of WilliamMoorcroft, though not old, has its own special interest.

Among the pictures dealing with mythological subjects, the most interesting are those representing the ten Mahávidyás, or forms of Durga. They illustrate faithfully the *dyánas,* or descriptions, which are given on the back of the pictures, and afford a clear idea of the aspects of the goddess as conceived by the Tantrikas or followers of witchcraft and black magic. Artistically, they exhibit the merits of the Indian pictorial art of the late Moghal period.

The third collection illustrates the Hindi poem – the *Hamir-Hath* (Saka) or obstinacy of Hamir—in which a legendary account is given of the fight between Hamir, the renowned Chief of Chittor, and Ala-ud-dín Khilji. The pictures are twenty-one in number and are ascribed to Sajnu, a painter of the Kángra School, who flourished at the beginning of the 19th century. The same characters are introduced in many of the pictures and the painter has shown great skill in maintaining the identity of his subjects throughout the series. The detail is profuse and always of high finish.

On the back of the pictures is an account of the story they illustrate, but its authorship is unknown and it differs in some respects from other extant versions. An account of the Hamir-Hath by Pandit Híra Nand, Shástri, was published in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry,* October 1915, with reproductions of the Mandi collection.

SECTION C.—History.

CHAP. I. C.

History.

The Durbar is indebted to Dr. J. Hutchinson of Chamba and to Dr. Vogel for the following account of the political history of the State :—

Meaning of the name Mandi.

The Mandi State, like most of the other Hill States, takes its name from its capital, which is situated on the left bank of the Beás. Mandi is a Hindi word, meaning "market," and it may possibly be connected with the Sanskrit word "*mandapika*," meaning "an open hall or shed," and may be derived from the Sanskrit root *mand*, meaning "to adorn or distribute." If a conjecture as to the origin of the name may be offered, it probably took its rise from the fact that, in ancient times, as at the present day, the place was a centre of trade on the main route from Yárkand and Ladákh to Hoshiárpur and the plains. The earliest mention of the town is on the inscription at the Trilok Náth temple in Old Mandi, which is dated in the year 2264 of the Kaliyuga era, and the Sáka year 1442, corresponding to A.D 1520.

Tibetan associations.

Among the Tibetans, Mandi is known by the name of Zahor, and it has an interesting association with the great Budhist teacher and missionary, Padma Sambhava (A.D. 750-800), for it was from Zahor or Mandi that he went at the request of the Tibetan King, Sronglde-btzan, to preach the doctrines of Budhism in Tibet. Pandit Híra Nand, Shástri, to whom we are indebted for this information, states that in his lamaist representations Padma Sambhava appears in the ancient Mandi garb, and the special head-dress worn by him is still called *Zahorma*. Many Tibetans come on pilgrimage from Tibet every year in winter to the holy lake of Riwálsar in Mandi, which they call Padmacan, and the spirit of the saint is believed to reside on the floating islands in the lake and is worshipped by them. They approach the lake from some distance on hands and knees. The Hindus look upon Riwálsar as the abode of Lomas *Rishi* whom they probably identify with Padma Sambhava. We are also told that many religious books were taken into Tibet in early times from Zahor; and during the reign of Langdarma (c. A.D. 900), the Tibetan king who persecuted the Budhists, many books are said to have been brought to Zahor for safety, and are believed by the Tibetans to be still lying hidden somewhere in Mandi. These facts and traditions all go to prove the identity of Zahor with Mandi, or at any rate with the tract around Riwálsar.[1]

[1] *Vide* A History of Western Tibet, p. 59.

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Sources of information.

As in the case of many of the other Hill States, Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to institute inquiries into the history of the Mandi royal family and the results of his researches are to be found in the Reports of the Archæological Survey.[1]

Unfortunately very little material of a historical character, in addition to the *Vansávali*, or genealogical roll of the Rájas, is available, and indeed one may say that no reliable history of Mandi, in the modern sense of the term, exists anterior to the period of Sikh rule. For this blame may justly be laid at the door of the ancient Mandi rulers, in that they left no reliable historical records behind them ; but in this respect they were in no way more blameworthy than most of the other rulers of the Hill States. Under such adverse circumstances the only sources of information to draw upon, in addition to the *Vansávali*, consist of monuments, coins, inscriptions and such other scattered materials as are available. A history of Mandi compiled chiefly from these sources, and referring to the period from A.D. 1200 to 1870, is to be found in Sir Lepel Griffin's "The Rájas of the Punjab," and an abridged history finds a place in Colonel Massy's "Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab." These have been utilized in preparing this history. A vernacular history in Tánkri also exists, dealing with the period from the reign of Rája Ajbar Sen, A.D. 1500, to the present time, which contains much information of an interesting character. It was compiled in A.D. 1888 by Brikam *kaith* from materials in the possession of an old Mandi family named Bisht. An Urdu work, the *Majma tawáríkh riyásathái Kohistán-i-Panjab* by Sardar Hardayál Singh also contains a history of Mandi.[2]

Rule of Ránas and Thákurs.

The early history of Mandi is similar to that of most of the other Punjab Hill States. In practically all of them we find traditions of a more or less authentic character, pointing to the rule in ancient times of petty chiefs called Ránas and Thákurs; the Ránas being Kshatriyas or Rájpúts and the Thákurs of some lower caste. In Mandi, Suket and Kulu the latter were probably Kanets, or of some other allied castes. The title of '*Rána*' is an abbreviation of Sanskrit *rájánaká*, meaning "almost a King" and was widely used in the hills in ancient times. Frequent mention of it occurs in the Rájátarangini or History of Kashmír, written and compiled from older documents in the early part of the 12th century, by Kalhana, a Kashmíri Pandit. At that period in Kashmír the title had ceased to indicate an independent ruler, and was used only as a personal distinction,

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. XIV, p. 123.

[2] We are also indebted to B. Sri Gopál, S. D. O. of Mandi State, for much help in preparing this paper. In addition to providing a good deal of new material he wrote the modern history of the State.

conferred by the Rája of the time. The same is true of the title of '*Thákur*,' meaning "lord," which was synonymous with Rána in its political signification.[1]

Rule of Ránas and Thákurs.

In Mandi and other parts of the hills outside Kashmír, these titles were used in their original meaning to indicate an independent or semi-independent ruler, though the territory owned by each of them was generally of small extent. Traditions of these ancient rulers date from very early times, and there can be little doubt that they were in power long anterior to the foundation of most of the Rájpút States of a later period. When this political organization came into existence we have no authentic information to tell us, but its primitive character points to its having been the earliest form of government in force in the hills. The Ránas and Thákurs were numerous and powerful in Mandi, Suket and Kulu, and seem to have retained their independence to a much later period than in many other parts of the hills. Their subjection by the rulers of these and other States involved almost continuous warfare for many centuries, and even after yielding a nominal submission, they were ever on the alert for any opportunity that afforded a hope of regaining independence. The history of Mandi State affords abundant evidence of the truth of this statement. In many of the States they combined against the new ruler, who was in most cases an intruder in the hills, and tried to drive him out; as a rule, however, their mutual jealousies and strife made concerted action impossible, and they were in the end reduced to the position of subjects. Many of the descendants of these families are now common farmers with nothing but the title, which is now a caste name, to prove their former importance.[2]

Common ancestry of Mandi and Suket.

The Chiefs of Suket and Mandi are descended from a common ancestor. They belong to the Atri *gotra* in the Chandarbansi line of Rájpúts and consequently claim descent from the Pándava family of Mahábhárata. The ancestors of the line are believed to have ruled for 1,700 years in Indráprástha (Delhi), until one Khemráj—the last ruler of the early dynasty—was driven out by his *Wazír*, Bisarp, who then usurped the throne. Khemráj having lost the kingdom of Indráprástha fled away eastward and settled in Bengal, where thirteen of his successors are said to have ruled for 350 years. Their capital was at Lakshmanpuri on the banks of the Ganges. The most distinguished ruler of this dynasty was Lakshman Sen, who is said to have extended his conquests to Kanauj, Nepál and Orissa, and to have founded Gaur in Málda, naming it Lakhnauti after himself. One of his succes-

[1] *Vide Journal Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 46.

[2] *Vide Journal Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 45, *et seq.*

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sors, named Balála Sen, chose Naddia (near the junction of the Bhagírathi and Jalangi rivers) as his capital.

According to Griffin's history of the State the dynasty continued to rule in Naddia until expelled in A.D. 1198-99 by Bakhtiyár, Khilji, one of the generals of Kutb-ud-dín, the first Slave King of Delhi. Súr Sen, the last ruler of the dynasty, is said to have died in exile at Prayág or Allahábád, and his son, Rúp Sen, then retired to Rúpar near Ambála. There too the family was overtaken by the Muhammadans and Rúp Sen was killed in A.D. 1210. His three sons fled to the hills for refuge, and after some time established themselves in separate principalities. Bír or Víra Sen became ruler of Suket, Gíri Sen of Keonthal, and Hamír Sen of Kashtwár.[1] It is interesting to note that the four branches of the family, including Mandi, still preserve the tradition of a common origin from the ruling family of Gaur, Bengal.

There is, however, reason to believe that Suket was founded at a much earlier period than Griffin allows. Sir A. Cunningham placed the foundation of the State in the latter part of the 8th century, and his conclusions are probably nearer the truth. He says[2]: "According to the accepted genealogy of the Mandi and Suket families, the real founder appears to have been Víra Sena, who was the first that bore their common title of Sena. From his time down to the separation of the families, under the two brothers – Sáhu Sena and Báhu Sena – there were ten generations. Samudra Sena, the author of the Nirmand record, was the sixth in descent from Báhu Sena. From Samudra Sena down to Ajbar Sena, whose date is fixed by a copper plate inscription in Mandi in S. 1584=A D. 1527, there were eleven reigns; and as Ajbar Sena is said to have died in A.D. 1534 his accession may be placed about A.D. 1500. The accession of Samudra Sena must therefore be fixed somewhere about A.D. 1500 – 360=A.D. 1140; allowing 30 years for a reign. Accepting the latter half of the 12th century as the date of Samudra Sena, the separation of the Mandi branch of the family, under Báhu Sena, may have taken place about A.D. 1000, and the original foundation of the family under Víra Sena about the middle of the 8th century. The dates of all the later Rájas are recorded on their *Sati* monuments."

An average of thirty years to a reign seems a little too high. In most of the other States it ranges from twenty to twenty-five years. On the other hand we have to bear in mind that some names may have dropped out of the *Vansávali* in the process of

[1] Kashtwár State was founded at a later date than Suket, and the founder cannot have been a brother of Bír Sen, though probably from the same family. *Vide J. P. H. S.*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 34.

[2] *Vide* Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. XIV, p. 123.

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copying, especially in the early centuries. This was a thing of common occurrence, as we know from the records of other States. We therefore feel inclined to agree with Cunningham that the Suket State was founded not much later than A.D. 765. An incident in the Chamba annals lends fairly strong corroboration to this conclusion.[1] There it is related that towards the end of the 8th century, Brahmápura, the original capital, was invaded by a race of foreigners, called Kíra—probably Tibetans—and the Rája was killed in battle. His Ráni who was pregnant fled towards the outer hills, and on the way a son was born, who was named Mushan Varma. Ultimately the Ráni is said to have found a refuge with the Rája of Suket, who made suitable provision for the young prince, and on his reaching manhood he was married to the Rája's daughter. On that occasion a *jágír* was granted as dowry in the *pargana* of Pángna, and from the Suket records we learn that Pángna was the original capital of the State.[2] In any case we may safely conclude that Suket was founded not much later than A.D. 800

Common ancestry of Mandi and Suket.

Bír Sen, c. A.D. 765.—As already stated, Bír Sen was the founder of the Suket royal family. Having settled to the west of the Sutlej and obtained a firm footing, he began the work of territorial extension. The capital of the new principality was then at Pángna, where the ancient palace still exists in a good state of preservation. As we have seen, the whole of the country was then under the sway of small petty chiefs, bearing the titles of Rána or Thákur, whose unhappy divisions rendered them an easy prey to the invaders. Most of them were subdued and made tributary, or expelled and their territory annexed. In this way the work of extending the State frontiers was pushed on by Bír Sen's successors, and within a century the whole tract between the Sutlej and the Beás was brought under the sway of Suket. It thus bordered with the Sutlej to the south, Kulu to the east and north-east, Kángra to the west and south-west, and the Beás to the north ; and included most of the territory now embraced in the two States of Mandi and Suket.

Bír Sen, c. 765 A. D.

We have now to relate the circumstances which resulted in the partial break-up of this powerful State and the founding of an independent principality in Mandi. In the reign of Sáhu Sen,[3] his younger brother, Báhu Sen,[4] quarrelled with the Rája and left the State to reside at Manglaur, within the territory of Kulu.

Mandi becomes independent.

[1] Chamba Gazetteer, p. 79. It is probable that there was an early Sena dynasty in Bengal, whose ancestor, Víra Sena, reigned in the seventh century, from whom the later dynasty of Sena Rájas, as also the Suket family, have descended. *Cf.* Arch. Survey Report, Vol. XV, page 156.

[2] *Vide* Suket Gazetteer, p. 5. In the Chamba records the name is Pánga, evidently a clerical error.

[3] Sena—An army. The suffix of the Suket and Mandi Rájas has always been '*Sena.*'

[4] Arch. Survey Report, Vol. XIV, p. 128.

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Mandi becomes independent.

This event Cunningham fixes at or about A.D. 1000. Báhu Sen is said to have acquired territory around Manglaur from Kulu, and was recognized as a Rána or local chief. He was followed by a line of chiefs whose names only have been preserved. They are as follows: Nimat Sen, Naraváhana Sen, Kanaváhana Sen, Suváhana Sen, Bír Sen, Samudra Sen, *c.* A.D. 1176, Kenshan Sen, *c.* A.D. 1194, Mangala Sen, *c.* A.D. 1222, Jaya Sen, *c* A. D. 1250, Karenchan Sen, *c.* A.D. 1278.

The copper plate inscription of the great temple of Nirmand in Kulu contains, among others, the name of Rája Samudra Sena, who was the founder; and whom Sir A. Cunningham identified with the Samudra Sena of the Mandi *Vansávali*.

He says: "The copper plate inscription of the great temple at Nirmand gives the genealogy of four Rájas, all of whom take the title of Sena, which was peculiar to the families of Suket and Mandi. The names in the plate also agree very closely with some of the consecutive names in the genealogical list of the Mandi Rájas. I now place the two series side by side for comparison":—

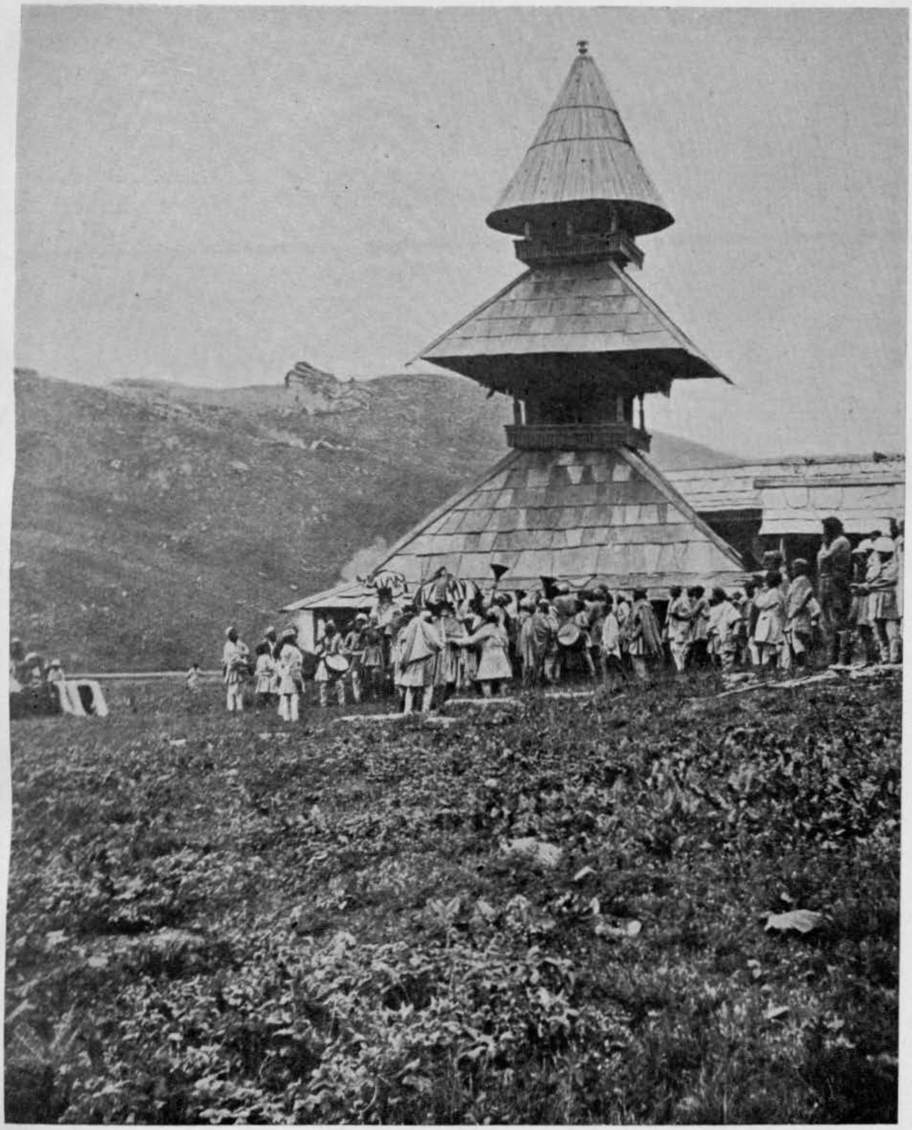
Nirmand Plate.	*Vansávali.*
1. Varuna Sena.	1. Naraváhana Sena. Kanaváhana Sena.
2. Sanjáya Sena.	2. Suváhana Sena.
3. Rávi Sena.	3. Víra Sena.
4. Samudra Sena	4. Samudra Sena.

"As Naraváhana is a title of the god, Varúna, these two names may be accepted as intended for the same person. In the second name there is a difference, but the third name of the *Vansávali, viz.*, Víra Sena, I take to be the same as Rávi, by the mere transposition of the syllables. The fourth name is the same in both. ... The date (of the inscription) may be S. 1227=A.D. 1170, which would agree very well with the date derivable from the genealogical roll. From Samudra's accession to the death of Balbír Sena in 1851 there are 28 names, which if taken as generations at 25 years each, would give a period of 700 years or A.D. 1151 to 1176 for Samudra's reign [1]"

More recently, however, the inscription has been edited and discussed by Dr. J. F. Fleet,[2] and he remarks that Cunningham is absolutely wrong about the date of the plate. It is dated in the year 6 and Dr. Fleet is of opinion that this refers to the reign of Samudra Sena. It is also quite possible that it refers to the Shástra era. In any case, on palæographical grounds he arrives at the conclusion that it must belong to the

[1] *Cf.* Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. XIV, p. 123.

[2] *Cf.* Corp. Inscrip. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 286-291.



Parásar Deo temple.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

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7th century of the Christian era. It is evident therefore that the Samudra Sena of the copper plate cannot be identified with the Samudra Sena of the *Vansávali*. He says: "This identification cannot be accepted for a moment It is wholly impossible to accept the names of Víra Sena, Suváhana Sena, Kanaváhana Sena and Naraváhana Sena, which precede him (Samudra Sena) in the genealogy, as being identical with or even intended to represent the Rávishana, Sainjáya Sena, and Varúna Sena of the inscription." The question of the origin of the Nirmand inscription therefore remains unsolved.

Mandi becomes independent

Kanchan Sen, c.1278 A.D.

Kanchan or Karanchan Sen, c. *A.D. 1278*.—He was fourth in descent from Samudra Sen and his Ráni was a daughter of the Rána of Seokot on the Beás, about ten miles above Mandi.

Kanchan Sen seems to have been seized with the ambition to enlarge his borders at the expense of his neighbours and invaded and conquered the adjoining tract of Panjain, and annexed Thujri and Kao *kothís*. He also subdued the Ránas of Bans, Neru and Bági-Thách and forced them to pay tribute. As these tracts were all within the limits of Kulu State, the vanquished Ránas appealed to that chief for help, and they all flocked to his standard when his army advanced to their relief. In the struggle which ensued Kanchan Sen was slain, the fort of Manglaur burnt down, and his wife was forced to flee for her life. She was pregnant and being alone in her flight she lost her way in the dense forest. Night coming on, she fell down exhausted at the foot of a *bán* or oak tree, and there her son was born. In the morning some followers of the Rána of Seokot found her and carried her and the child to her father's home.

Bán Sen.

From the circumstances of his birth her son received the name of Bán or Báno, and afterwards that of Bán Sen. The Rána of Seokot had no male heir and he adopted his daughter's son as his successor, and on his death Bán Sen became the chief of Seokot.

On growing up to manhood Bán Sen began to enlarge his heritage and built for himself a residence at Bhiuli on the right bank of the Beás, two miles above the present town of Mandi. He attacked the Ránas of Kelti and Sagur and built the temple of Parásar Deo. Bán Sen died about A.D. 1304.

Kalián Sen, c. 1304 A. D.

Kalián Sen, c. *A.D. 1304*.--Bán Sen was succeeded by his son, Kalián Sen, who bought a piece of land on the right bank of the Beás, called Batahuli, across the river from Mandi. There he built a palace, the ruins of which may still be seen, and till the founding of the present capital, Batahuli was the capital of the State and is still called Old Mandi. The purchase was probably made from one of the local Ránas who were subject to the

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Kalián Sen, c. 1304 A.D.

Rája of Suket, and it may have marked the first encroachment on the territory of that State.

From this beginning the work of territorial extension rapidly progressed. The Rána of Kelti was subdued and the country around Chahti and Sanor was annexed; the Rána of Sagrúr was killed and his territory also seized. Kalián Sen died in *c* A.D. 1332 and was succeeded by his son Híra Sen.

Hira Sen, c. 1332 A.D.

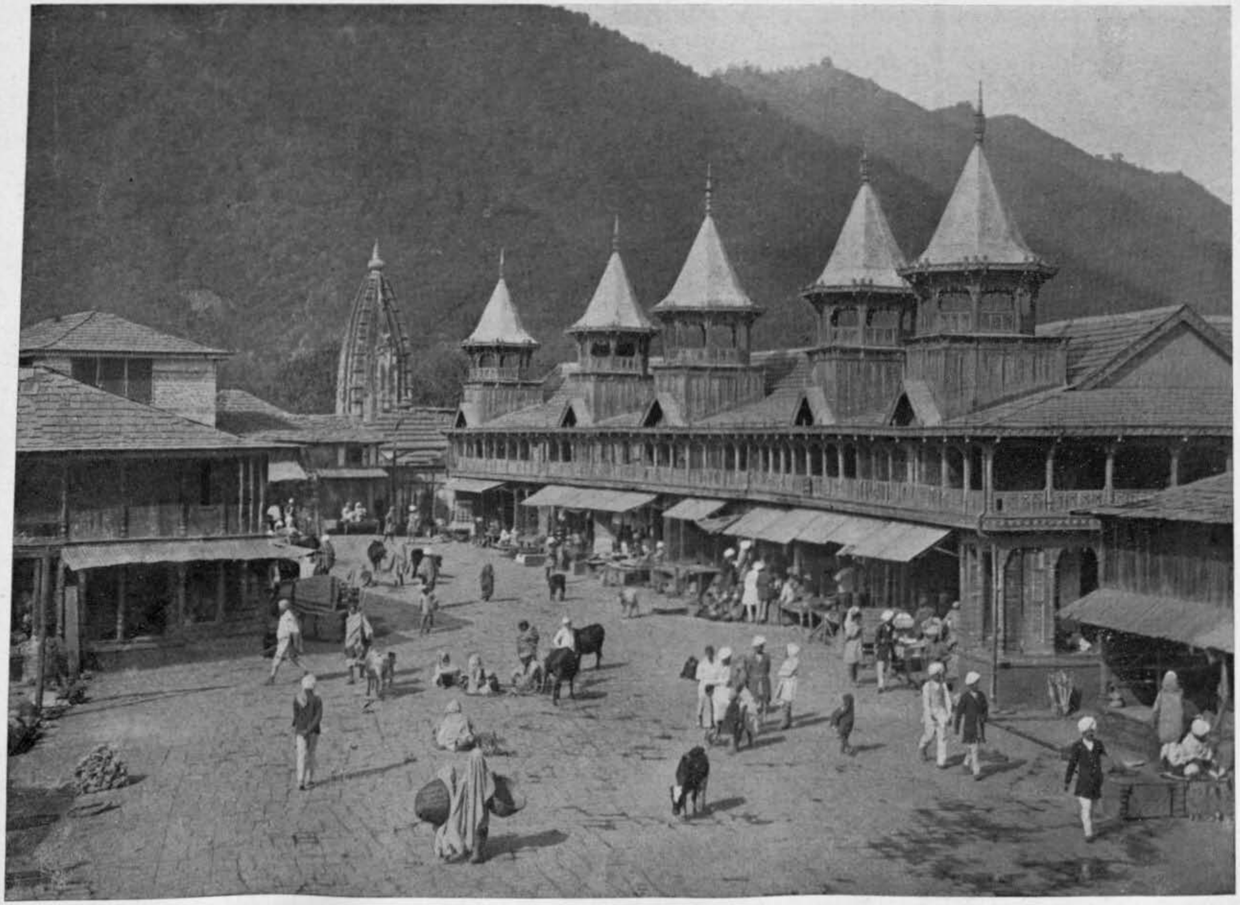
Hira Sen, c. *A. D. 1332.*—In his reign the Kanhwál district was added to the State, but the Rája was killed in the struggle by the Rána of Gandharb, in A D. 1360, and was succeeded by his brother, Dharitri Sen. He in his turn was followed by Narindar Sen in c. A.D. 1416, by Harjai Sen in *c.* A.D. 1444 and Diláwar Sen in *c.* A.D. 1472.

During these reigns the work of conquest went on and the diminutive states owned by the Ránas and Thákurs were successively brought under one head, and became more or less subject to the central authority at Old Mandi. The work of consolidation was completed under Ajbar Sen, A.D. 1500, an able and wise ruler, who also founded the present town of Mandi and made it the capital.

Ajbar Sen, c. 1500 A.D.

[1]*Ajbar Sen*, c. *A.D. 1500.*—Though many of the petty chiefs had been made tributary, they were difficult to hold under control, and were constantly giving trouble. The same state of things existed in Kulu, where the Rájas, Sidh Singh and Bahádur Singh, were engaged about the same time in bringing the Ránas and Thákurs into submission by every means in their power. On the left bank of the Beás, opposite Batahuli, was Sadhiána, where the town of Mandi now stands, which was the territory of Rána Gokal. This Rána had intrigued against the rising power of the Rája and at the instigation of one Ghanda Bisht he was killed, and his lands annexed. For this service a grant of land in *muáfi*, or free hold, was conferred on Ghanda. The Ránas of Marátu, Kanhwál and Gandharb had also in a similar manner been unwilling to submit. They united their forces, of which more than half were archers, and advanced into the Balh plain to the south of Mandi, where they were defeated by Ajbar Sen, and, in the pursuit, the Rána of Gandharb was killed. Chatar Sen, the Rája's eldest son, then marched against the Rána of Marátu, but was defeated and wounded in the leg, and three of the principal men of Mandi were slain. These men were brothers, and members of a Khatri family, and in recognition of their services the Rája made a grant of land from the conquered territory to a fourth brother,

[1] All the dates down to the reign of Ajbar Sen are only approximate.



The Chauhta Bazar, Mandi.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

named Maksúdan, under a title deed engraved on a copper plate, dated S. 1584=A.D. 1527, which is still in the possession of the family. The grant was made by Ajbar Sen, but is signed by his son, Chatar Sen. The family still reside in Mandi, though now of no importance.

Ajbar Sen, c. 1500 A.D.

Foundation of present town of Mandi.

In A.D. 1527 Ajbar Sen, after acquiring the level tract on the left bank of the Beás, decided on changing the capital, and the present town of Mandi was founded by him. He also built the old palace with four towers, called Chauki, now almost in ruins. The temple of Bhút Náth in the middle of the town was also erected by him, and that of Trilok Náth by his queen, Suratráni or Sultán Devi. The vernacular history states that the Ránas of Kamláh and Kálar became subject and Chatar Sen built a fort in the Kálar district, named Lakargarh. Some of the Ránas surrendered their possessions and others became tributary, paying partly in cash and partly in kind. This tribute was called *mángni*.

Chatar Sen, c. 1534 A.D.

Chatar Sen, c. *A.D. 1534.*—According to one authority Chatar Sen died in the lifetime of his father. Cunningham, on the other hand, records a reign of 20 years, during which nothing special seems to have occurred.

Sáhib Sen, c. 1554 A.D.

Sáhib Sen, c. A.D. 1554.—He was a son of the previous Rája and was married to Prakásh Dei, a daughter of the Rája of Kahlúr (Biláspur), and a wise and pious lady. It is related of her, that having no issue she made a vow to Naráin Deva of Hurang, in Chuhár, that she would make golden images of the god out of her own ornaments if she were blessed with a son. Her prayers were soon answered and a son was born to her. As an act of merit she had a boat built for the ferry on the Beás, between Batahuli and Mandi, and also had many drinking fountains constructed along the main roads.

Sáhib Sen was much under the influence of his queen and at her instigation he attacked the Rána of Drang and drove him out, thus acquiring the salt quarry situated at that place. A fort at Jájru-Kupru is also associated with his name.

[1]Sir Lepel Griffin states that Sáhib Sen assisted Rája Jagat Singh of Kulu in an attack on the Rája of Lag in Kulu, and at the partition of territory after the victory, Mandi received what is known as Saráj Mandi, and Kulu took the portion which now goes by the name of Saráj Kulu. It is certain, however, that if this event took place in Sáhib Sen's reign, the Kulu Rája cannot have been Jagat Singh—for he did not succeed till a much later date (*c.* A.D. 1637). It may have been Rája Bahádur

[1] The *Rájas of the Punjab*, p. 576.

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Sáhib Sen, c. 1554 A.D.

Singh, who we know conquered part of Saráj, or his son, Rája Partáp Singh. As the result of a subsequent invasion of Lag the districts of Sanor and Badár were also annexed by Mandi; while Kulu obtained Pirkot, Madanpur, and twelve neighbouring villages.

Sáhib Sen was a contemporary of Akbar the Great, but there is no reference to the Mughals in the annals of his time. Probably the territory was too far in the interior of the hills to be directly influenced by Mughal rule till a later period.

Naráyan Sen, c. 1575 A.D.

Naráyan Sen, c. *A. D. 1575.*—He was a son of the previous Rája and is said to have been of stunted growth as well as crippled and deformed. A story is told of his cure by an ascetic, named Sidh Chuni Muni, who visited Mandi. At the request of the ascetic his disciples, who built a temple to him, receive one *patha* of grain from each hamlet in the State. The cess is in force to this day and is called *Pírpatha*, a *patha* being equal to eight *kachcha sers*, or a little over three *pakka sers*,[1] but as it has recently been declared to be a voluntary contribution on the part of those who give it, it is likely to disappear at an early date.

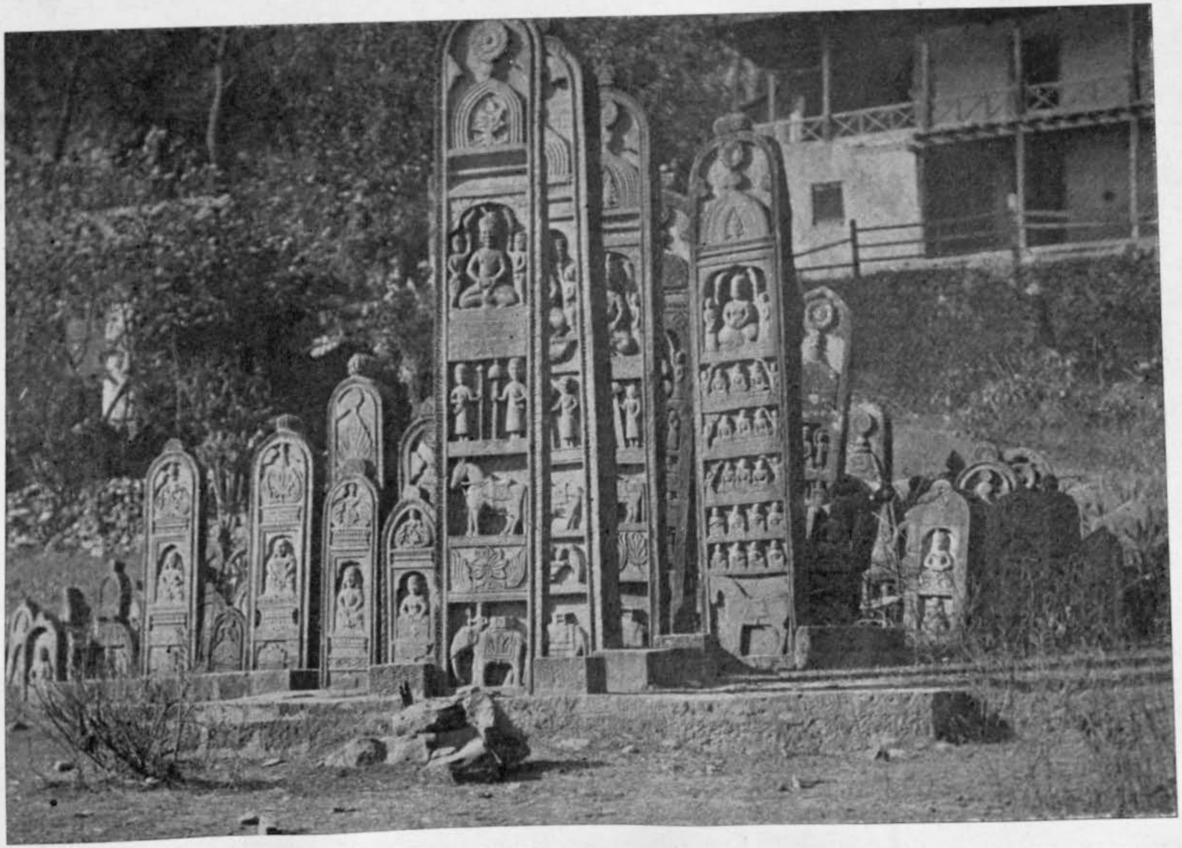
Further extensions of territory were made during this reign; the Ránas of Ner, Pandoh, and Chuhár were subdued, and seven *garhs* or *iláqás* of Chuhár and five *garhs* of Pandoh were annexed to the State He built the fort of Naráyangarh, and annexed a large portion of Suket, fixing the boundary at Bahl and Lohára. The whole country was still in the hands of Ránas and Thákurs, the principal of whom were at Baliána, Bhuhár, Sakläna, Thankan, Daleshari, Kothwán, Chátha, Khanwar, Kharjanun, Rajehri, Ner and Lakrera. The Rája is said to have died of paralysis.

Keshab Sen, c. 1595 A. D.

Kesava or Keshab Sen, c. *A. D. 1595*—There is nothing special about this Rája on record, but it is probable that in this or the previous reign Mandi came under Mughal control. [2]Early in Akbar's reign all the Punjab Hill States were made tributary, but they were left entirely free in the management of their internal affairs. All that seems to have been required of them was an acknowledgment of the Emperor's supremacy by the annual payment of tribute, and the furnishing of a contingent for military expeditions when called upon to do so. On the accession of a Rája a fee of investiture was paid anda *sanad* or patent of installation was then granted. The actual ceremony of installation was performed by the State Officers in accordance with ancient custom. Akbar adopted the policy of requiring a hostage

[1] In the Urdu History the story is told of Rája Hari Sen (c. A.D. 1623).

[2] Kángra Settlement Report, p. 8.



The *barsela* stones of the Rajas, Mandi.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

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from each of the hill chiefs, to ensure their obedience and fidelity, and we are told that in the beginning of Jahángír's reign there were 22 young princes at the Mughal Court as hostages from the States of the Western hills. To them was first given the title of *Mián*, probably by Jahángír, and later it became the distinctive cognomen of the kinsmen of these royal families, as it still is.

The *barsela* monuments.

Reference must here be made to the *Sati* monuments of the Mandi Rájas, of which that of Kesava or Keshab Sen is the oldest of the later group. The custom of erecting stone pillars, like tombstones, as memorials to the dead, prevailed all over the inner hills, but in Mandi, Suket and Kulu it was regarded as a royal privilege. In ancient times it was customary among the Ránas. In most parts of the hills these pillars are only rough slabs set on end, with very primitive representations of the deceased cut on them. In Mandi, however, they are of a more elaborate character, and adorned with ornamental carvings. Most of them have an inscription in the Tánkri character, and are dated in the Lokakála or era of the seven Rishís, which from remote times has been current in the hills.[1]

[2]The *Sati* pillars of the Mandi Rájas and their families, locally known as *barselas*, stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi a little way outside Mandi town, on the road to Suket. Some of them are six and seven feet high and all are carved with figures of the Rájas and of the women who became *sati* with them. Each Rája is represented as seated above with a row of *ránís* or queens, also seated, immediately below: still lower are standing figures of *khawásís* or concubines and *rakhális* or slave girls. The inscription records the name of the Rája and the date of his death, as also the number of queens, concubines and slave girls who were burnt with him. The monuments are valuable for chronological purposes as fixing with certainty the date of each Rája's demise and the accession of his successor, from Hari Sen, A.D. 1637, down to the present time. Only three are without an inscription, *viz.*, those of Kesava Sen, Gur Sen and Shiv Jawála Sen. Kesava Sen probably died in 1623 and was succeeded by his son, Hari Sen.

Hari Sen, c. 1623 A. D.

Hari Sen, c. A D. 1623.—It must have been during Hari Sen's reign that an incident occurred which brought Chamba and

[1] It also bears other names as *Rája Sambat-Pahári Sambat, Kachcha Sambat, Shástra Sambat, Kashmíri Sambat, etc.* This era is a cycle of 2,700 years, each century being named after one of the 27 *Nakshatras* or lunar mansions and the reckoning, therefore, is never carried beyond 100. The first year of each century corresponds with the 25th year of each Christian century. This era is used in the Rájátarangíni or History of Kashmír. *Cf.* Cunningham, The *Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 6-17.

[2] *Vide* Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. XIV, p. 123, pls. XXIX and XXX. Older *barselas* are found at the Trilok Náth Temple in Old Mandi, but they contain no inscriptions. It is still the custom in Mandi to erect a *barsela* on the death of a Rája.

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Mandi into close relations. Rája Jagat Singh of Núrpur had acquired a powerful influence at the Mughal Court, and encouraged by the favour shown him, he seems to have conceived the design of making himself paramount in the hills. He made encroachments on several of the Hill States, including Chamba, Basohli and Guler. Chamba was invaded and conquered in 1623 and Janárdan, the heir-apparent, then acting as regent of the State, was assassinated. His son, Prithvi Singh, then a boy of four years of age, was smuggled out of the palace by his nurse and conveyed to Mandi, where he remained for nearly 20 years. In 1640, Jagat Singh and his son, Rájrúp Singh, rebelled against Sháhjahán and a strong Mughal army was sent against them, affording an opportunity to Prithvi Singh to drive out the Núrpur officials and recover the State. This he did with the help of Mandi and Kulu.[1]

Jagat Singh had also shown sinister designs on Basohli, Guler and Suket, and the Rájas of these States, it is said, were imprisoned by the Emperor on false charges preferred against them by the Núrpur Chief. This may account for the strong hostility to him shown by several of the hill chiefs when he fell into disfavour. Mán Singh, the contemporary Rája of Guler, is in the Bádsháhnámah, called "the mortal enemy of Jagat Singh." It is also believed that he harboured evil designs upon Mandi, which seems to have been more or less under his control. as the tribute money due by the State is said to have been sometimes paid through him. This however may have been done while he was Faujdár of Kángra in A. D. 1640-41.

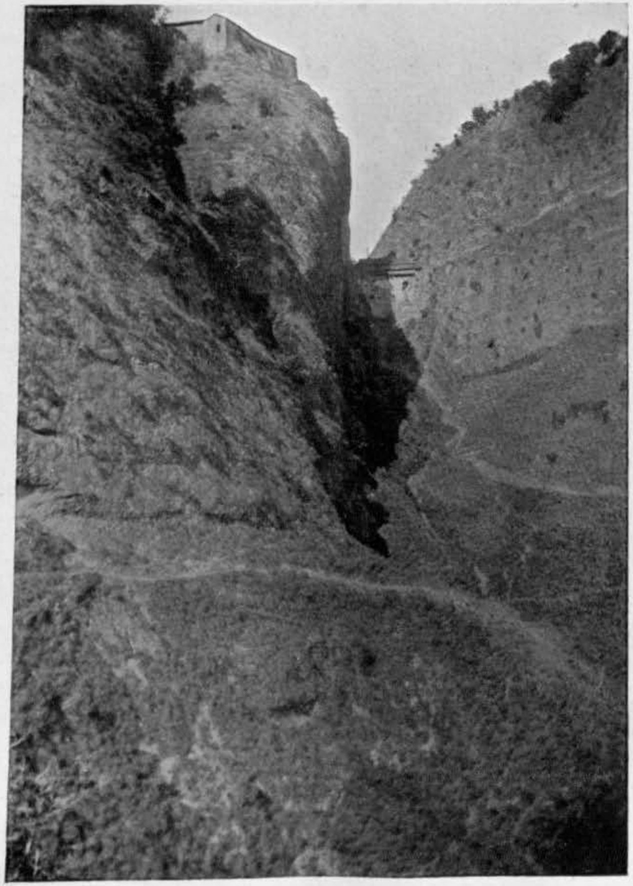
Hari Sen is said to have been a great hawker. He died in 1637 and was succeeded by his son, Surya or Súraj Sen.

Súraj Sen, c. 1637 A. D.

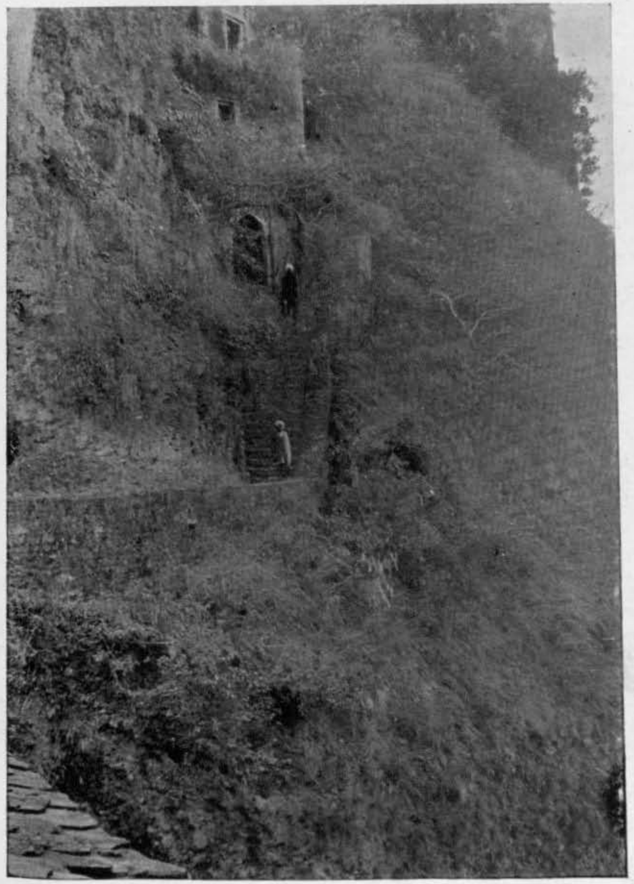
Súraj Sen, c. A.D. 1637.—From Súraj Sen's reign onwards the events of Mandi history are related in fuller detail and with greater chronological precision. Súraj Sen was an ambitious Chief, but his efforts to extend his territory were often unfortunate, and only brought disaster on the State. From the records we learn that in his reign Mughal supremacy had been fully established, and Mandi like the other hill States was tributary to the Empire.

A tradition has been handed down of an attempt by Rája Jagat Singh of Núrpur to conquer Mandi by treachery, which is strangely in keeping with attempts of a similar character on some of the other States. It is said that he arranged a marriage for his daughter with Súraj Sen, intending to assassinate his son-in-law during the marriage festivities at Núrpur. Súraj Sen,

[1] Chamba Gazetteer, pp. 88—90.



Kamláh Fort.



Kamláh Fort.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta 1919.

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Súraj Sen, c. 1637 A. D.

however, received a hint from Jagat Singh's Ráni of what was purposed and secretly made his escape to Mandi. Seeing that his design had been discovered, Jagat Singh made a show of sending the bride in state to Mandi in charge of his elder son, Ráj Rúp; and after some delay the marriage ceremonies were completed

Soon after coming into power Súraj Sen sought to enlarge his boundaries towards the north, and made an attack on the Rája of Bhangál. This, however, brought the Rája (probably Jagat Singh)[1] of Kulu into the field and Súraj Sen was defeated by the combined forces. The forts of Karanpur, Sháhpur and Shamsherpur were captured by Kulu, who also took from Bhangál as the price of his assistance Dewal, Sansál and Ber. Soon afterwards Súraj Sen tried to recover the lost territory by invading Kulu, but was again defeated and driven back with loss. The salt quarries of Gumán and Drang fell into the enemy's hands, and as a large part of the State revenue came from these quarries, Súraj Sen was compelled to sue for peace, and pay the expenses of the war, on which the lost territory was restored and the boundary fixed at Ber and Aiju as before.

Kamláh fort.

Súraj Sen was also unsuccessful in his struggle with Mán Singh of Guler, who twice sacked Mandi and held possession for some time of the district of Kálar in which was situated the fortress of Kamláh. This fortress is said to have been founded in 1625—30, and it was strongly fortified by Súraj Sen, and was famous for its strength all over the hills. It has six distinct forts along the serrated ridge of the Sikandar Dhár, on the border of Mandi and Kángra, and is a conspicuous object from a long distance all round. The cliffs are almost perpendicular on three sides. The following description of the fortress is from "The Rájas of the Punjab," by Sir Lepel Griffin[2]: "The hill upon which the fortress is situated extends nearly north and south for six or eight miles, running parallel to and about ten miles from Janetri Devi on the east and the Bakar *khad* on the west. The hill is formed of conglomerate sandstone, from 150 to 200 feet in height, while the ridge is narrow and serrated, and in several places intersected with deep ravines, the eastern and western sides presenting an uninterrupted scarp of from 40 to 150 feet along the whole length of the hill except at the two approaches to the positions of Anantpur and Kamláh, which are guarded by forts difficult of access. The ground for several miles round the hill-side is intersected with tremendous ravines which carry off the

[1] Griffin has *Mán Singh*, but this is probably incorrect as he was a contemporary of Sidh Sen of Mandi.

[2] *The Rájas of the Punjab*, pp. 571-2. *Cf.* Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 111, *et seq.*; also Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 66-7.

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water either into the Sona or Bakar *khad*, thus forming a most difficult country for the transport of artillery, and a most favourable one for defence by a determined body of men."

"The position of Anantpur contains five distinct forts, built in the irregular style usual in these hills, to suit the ground intended to be occupied and protected, *viz.*, Anantpur, Samírpur, Bakhtpur, Partábpur and Nayagila, the last built by the Sikhs, though never completed, besides many smaller outworks. Within this position there is abundance of good water in two or three different springs, besides grass and wood. Although on two sides entirely impregnable and on the third extremely strong, Anantpur is commanded by a hill about 800 yards distant, and could certainly be scaled with ease under cover of guns from the neighbouring hills."

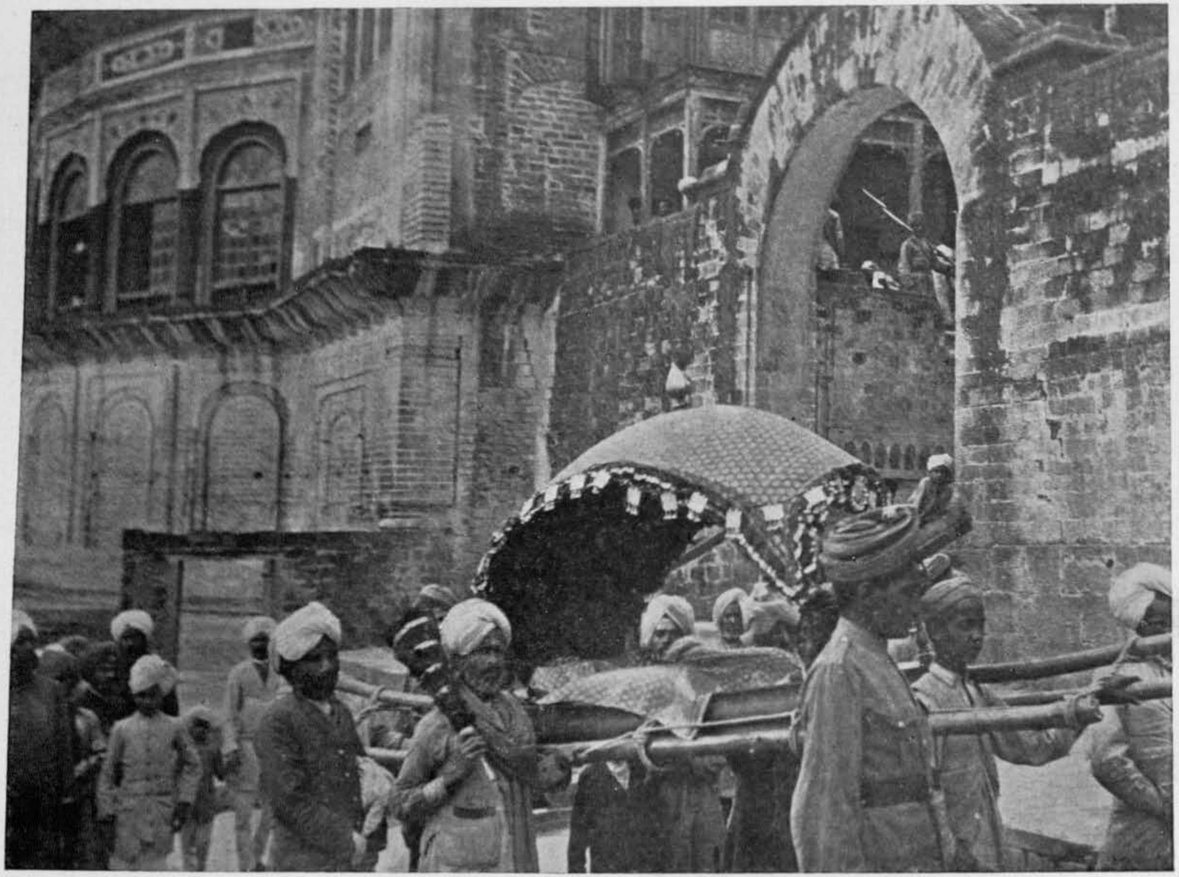
"Kamláh contains six distinct forts, *viz.*, Kamláh, Chauki, Chabára, Padampur, Shamsherpur, and Narsingpur. Although like Anantpur impregnable on two sides and nearly so on the third, where the gateway is reached by a ladder of about 40 steps, yet the eastern side might be easily occupied by an enemy if once in possession of Padampur. There is no spring of water in Kamláh itself, the spring for the supply of the place being some distance below, but like all hill forts it contains excellent tanks in which sufficient water for the supply of a small garrison for several months might easily be stored."

Mandi was in ancient times supposed to have contained 360 forts, but of these only ten are now in any state of preservation; Kamláh was the repository for all the wealth of Mandi State from the reign of Súraj Sen to that of Ishwari Sen, and the independence of the State has often depended on its chief fortress, which is still held by a small garrison.

Later years of Súraj Sen's reign.

We have now to narrate the story of the later years of Súraj Sen's reign. In 1653 he took the districts of Patri and Suláni from Suket, and in his conflicts with the Ránas, who still continued to maintain their power in some parts of the State, he was more successful than in his early wars. They seem to have been resident chiefly in the hilly and more difficult parts of the country around Kamláh, at Sandhol and Chántha; they were subdued and their possessions annexed. Khanwál was acquired from Kángra as dowry with the Rája's daughter on her marriage to Súraj Sen.

Only one Rána now remained—that of Anantpur—who resided at Anantpur fort which was strongly situated and difficult of capture. At that time Súraj Sen had as his *Wazír* one Jálpu, who devised a plan for the reduction of the fort by treachery. It was arranged that the Rája should feign anger with Jálpu and



The Shivrátri Fair, Mandi (Mádho Rao returning to the palace).

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

Later years of Súraj Sen's reign.

dismiss him in disgrace. On this being done, Jálpu retired to Anantpur and entered the service of the Rána, and in course of time so gained his confidence that Jálpu was made *dharam bhái* to the Ráni. Having succeeded so far in his designs Jálpu then asked permission to bring the ladies of his family, with other female relations, on a visit for *púja* to the shrine of the *Devi* which was within the fort. This request being granted Jálpu sent secretly to Súraj Sen to provide 18 *pálkis*, with ten sets of armour in each, and ten bearers to each *pálki*, who were soldiers in disguise. On reaching the fort of Anantpur the procession was admitted, and the bearers then seized their arms and made an assault on the defenders.[1] The Rána was killed and the fort captured. The Ráni then became *sati*, but before going to the pyre she pronounced a curse on Jálpu and his descendants which is said to have been fulfilled, all his family being lame, deaf, deformed or imbecile.

Súraj Sen built the palace in Mandi, called Damdama. He is also said to have introduced a fixed revenue assessment of grain and cash, but no details are known.

Assignment of kingdom to Mádho Ráo.

Súraj Sen had 18 sons, all of whom died in his own lifetime, and despairing of an heir he caused a silver image to be made which he named Mádho Ráo and to which he assigned the kingdom. It bears an inscription in Sanskrit of which the translation is as follows : "[2]Súrya Sena, lord of the earth and destroyer of his rivals, had this blameless image of the blessed Discus-bearer, and master (*guru*) of all the gods, the illustrious Mádho Rái, made by Bhíma, the goldsmith, in the year 1705, on Thursday, the 15th Phágan." This date corresponds to A.D 1648.

Súraj Sen's daughter was married to Hari Deo of Jammu. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Shyám Sen, who had been absent from Mandi during the later years of his brother's reign on pilgrimage to Benáres and Jagannáth. On his return he resided chiefly in Chamba. Probably he and Prithvi Singh of Chamba had become intimately acquainted when the latter was living in Mandi.

Feeling that his end was near Súraj Sen sent a message recalling his brother to Mandi, but it is uncertain if Shyám Sen arrived in time. A pathetic story is told of the funeral when Súraj Sen's Ránís became *sati*. They sent to the treasury for money to give away in charity, but found all under lock and key In their vexation and disappointment they threw down an

[1] A similar story occurs in the history of Kángra.

[2] *Cf. The Rájas of the Punjab*, p. 578. The above is the correct translation. About the same time Rája Jagat Singh of Kulu made over his kingdom to Raghúnáthji, in a similar manner .

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axe on the wall of the Damdama palace, and the impress left is there to this day.[1]

Shyám Sen, c. 1664 A. D.

Shyám Sen, c. A.D. 1664.—Shyám Sen must have been in middle life at the time of his accession, and his reign was not a long one. He retained the old officials in office and carried on the administration through them. Shortly afterwards a Mughal army invaded Kahlur (Biláspur) and the Rája appealed to Shyám Sen for help, which was at once given. There was some considerable loss, and, on the termination of the war, Shyám Sen granted land in freehold, still called "*barto*," to the families of all who had fallen in the campaign. With the reign of Shyám Sen a new era in the history of Mandi is reached. We no longer hear of conflicts with Ránas and Thákurs, all or almost all of whom had now been reduced to complete submission, or expelled from their lands. In their place, however, other opponents came to the front, who demanded strenuous exertions on the part of the Mandi Rájas to overcome them. Chief among these were the Rájas of Suket, who were jealous of the rapid rise of the new principality, largely at the expense of their own. Mandi and Suket have always been rivals and generally enemies, but for several generations there was little to show on either side as the result of their warfare. As Lepel Griffin remarks[2]: "When a powerful Rája ruled at Suket he won back all the territory which his predecessors had lost, and at one time the Suket possessions extended to the very walls of Mandi. In the same manner when a powerful chief ruled in Mandi the borders of Suket were much reduced, and its outlying forts and districts fell into the hands of its rival. The plain of Bahl, lying between the two capitals, was common ground of desire and dispute." This plain, ten miles long by two broad, was the scene of many a fight, and the story of one, which sounds like a repetition of Chevy Chase, is still sung in Mandi ballads. Jít Sen was then ruler of Suket and he cherished a strong feeling of malice against Shyám Sen of Mandi, to whom, on account of his dark colour (hence the name Shyám), he gave the nickname of Tikkar Náth, meaning "a dark coloured iron pan." The agent of Mandi, who had gone with a letter to Suket, was one day asked in mockery what Tikkar Náth was doing. To this he gave the Suket Rája the ready answer that Tikkar Náth was red hot and ready for parching grain. On hearing of this insult, Shyám Sen's anger was aroused and he determined on an invasion of Suket. Accompanied by his heir-apparent, Gur Singh, he advanced with a large army into the Bahl

[1] The following curse is said to have been uttered at the time—*Mandi namak-harámon ki parol*, meaning that faithless servants will always prosper in Mandi.

[2] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 579.

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plain, and in the battle of Lohára he completely routed the Suket Chief. Jít Sen fled towards his capital, but was pursued by a Katoch, or Kángra man, in the service of Mandi, who was about to kill him, when he begged for his life, as being a royal prince. His life was spared, but the Katoch snatched the insignia of royalty from his head-dress, which he carried back to his master, who assigned him and his descendants in perpetuity a quantity of salt from the Drang quarry, which is still duly paid. The Lohára *'iláqa* was then annexed to Mandi. Gur Singh was wounded in the battle but recovered. A very big kettledrum, known by the name of *Naqára Khándi Ráo,* and a big *jalchar* (copper basin to heat water for bathing purposes) were plundered and these were long preserved with pride as booty of the battle of Lohára.

From this time onward Mandi gradually got the upper hand and gained possession of much of the territory which had till then been in the hands of the parent State.

Shyám Sen built the famous temple of Shyáma Káli on the hill overlooking Mandi town, at an altitude of 3,000 feet above sea level. There a fair is held for nine days annually in the month of Asúj, and all the children of the royal family are taken there for the ceremonies which are performed eight days after birth. Shyám Sen died in A.D. 1679 and was succeeded by his son, Gaur Sen.

Gaur Sen, 1679 A. D.

Gaur Sen, A. D. 1679.—Gaur Sen continued the work of conquest begun by his father, and with the assistance of Biláspur he conquered and annexed the *garhs* or districts of Dhanyára, Bera and Patri from Suket. He too like his father was an ardent pilgrim and visited the holy places, including Jagannáth, whence he brought an image and set it up in a shrine outside Mandi town. He reigned only five years and died in A.D. 1684. It is said that in his reign, or that of Sidh Sen, Rája Mán Singh of Kulu re-took some forts in Chuhár, but his army was routed and he was compelled to sue for peace. A dagger was presented by him to Gaur Sen which is still preserved in the armoury of the State Treasury. A Mughal army under Jáfir Beg also invaded Mandi in this reign, but, on hearing of the death of the Nawáb of Sirhind, they retired in disorder.

Sidh Sen, 1684 A. D.

Sidh Sen, A.D. 1684.—Sidh Sen, who now came to the throne, was a great warrior, and added large territories to the State at the expense of Bhangál, Suket and Kulu. The *Wazír* of the State during the early part of this reign was Mián Juppu, an illegitimate son of Gaur Sen and a man of great ability. The administration was entirely in his hands and he inaugurated the revenue system which remained in force until the Regular Settlement was effected in 1917. He framed rules, restricting

Revenue system of Mián Juppu.

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Revenue system of Mián Juppu.

expenditure on betrothals and weddings. He also introduced a system of State loans, whereby a man could borrow grain from the State stores, the loan being repaid at the next harvest, plus *sawái, i.e.*, $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the amount borrowed. Failing repayment a fresh bond was written every four years, in which the principal was doubled. One *paisa* per rupee per mensem, nearly 25 per cent. per annum, was charged as interest on cash loans.

During this period the land-revenue was paid chiefly in kind. If the fixed cash revenue demand could not be paid in silver the current copper coins were received with the addition of three *takkas, i.e.*, one anna and a half per rupee.

Among the acquisitions of territory from Suket made by Sidh Sen were the districts of Náchan, Hatli and Lad, in A.D. 1688. He also stormed the forts of Mastgarh, Maidángarh, Dhangiára and Anandgarh. In A.D. 1690 he captured the forts of Dhanesargarh and Sarakpur, and recovered Sivapur. He also built the fort of Sidhkot. In A.D. 1698 Ráipur was taken from Suket, and Mádhopur in the following year, and in A.D. 1706 he recaptured Hatli and ravaged the Lad district belonging to Hamír Chand, Katoch.

Murder of Rája of Bhangál.

A portion of Bhangál was also added to Mandi during this reign. Bhangál had long been a distinct principality under its own Rája, with the capital at Bír Bhangál. It included most of the country along the outskirts of the Dhaula Dhár between Kángra and Kulu,—now called Chhota Bhangál and Bír Bhangál—and a large portion of territory north of the Beás, now in Mandi, as also Bara Bhangál at the head of the Rávi valley and Paprola and Lanod, now in Kángra. Prithi Pál, Rája of Bhangál, had married a daughter of the Mandi Chief, while his own sister was the wife of Rája Mán Singh of Kulu. Sidh Sen sought to annex the territory to his dominions by treachery, and Prithi Pál was invited to Mandi on the pretext of seeking his assistance against Suket. He was received with all honour, but within a month he was inveigled into the Damdama palace and murdered.[1] His body was burnt, but his head was buried in front of the palace, on the spot now marked by a pillar in the middle of a tank, on which a light is kept burning every night. The tank was made by Sidh Sen, probably some time after the burial. On the murder becoming known, Rája Mán Singh of Kulu put forward a claim and annexed Bara Bhangál, Chhota Bhangál and part of Bír Bhangál, while a similar claim was made by Kángra. In the end Mandi profited little by the treacherous deed.

[1] Prithi Pál, while in Mandi, is said to have intrigued with the Rája of Suket who sent 200 men to help him. On this becoming known, Prithi Pál, fearing the consequences, tried to escape, but was pursued and captured at Bagwain. He was then confined in the Damdama palace and soon afterwards murdered. The story of Sidh Sen's treachery is the subject of a popular ballad.

The Kulu annals state that at a later period the Mandi Rája, probably Sidh Sen, invaded Kulu, but was compelled to retreat; and Mán Singh of Kulu then overran the northern portion of Mandi, as far as the salt quarries of Gumán and Drang. He was, however, prevailed upon to retire on the payment of a large sum of money, probably by way of *nazarána* or tribute.

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Murder of Rája of Bhangál.

Visit of Guru Gobind Singh.

Guru Gobind Singh is said to have visited Mandi in the reign of Sidh Sen, towards the end of the 17th century. He was on his way back from Kulu, where he had gone to ask help against the Muhammadans, and was badly treated and imprisoned in a cage. The Mandi Rája gave him an honourable reception and entertained him hospitably. On his departure the Rája was told to ask anything he wished, and he requested an assurance that his capital would never be occupied by an enemy. Thereupon the Guru gave utterance to the following cryptic couplet[1] :—

Mandi ko jab lútenge,
Asmáni gole chútenge.
When Mandi is plundered,
Heavenly balls will be fired.

[2]Mr. Vigne, the traveller, who visited Mandi soon after the accession of Raja Balbír Sen in 1839, states that, for some superstitious notion connected with the saying of the Guru, no servant of Ranjít Singh had ever been sent to Mandi. The receiver of revenue was quartered outside the town and the Mahárája's officer in attendance did not enter it while Mr. Vigne remained there.

Tradition asserts that Sidh Sen himself possessed miraculous powers and he is credited with having had a little book of charms and spells by means of which he exercised a supernatural influence on the demons and compelled them to obey him. When dying he threw the book into the Beás. On this Lepel Griffin remarks as follows: "The truth seems to be that Sidh Sen was more intelligent than his people and his uniform success was attributed to supernatural agency."

Sidh Sen is believed to have been of enormous stature and some clothes said to have been his are still preserved in the Mandi palace, which could only have been worn by a giant.

He built the temple of Sidh Ganesh, two miles from Mandi, and that of Sidhbhadra near the river. His reign lasted for forty-one years and he is said to have been a hundred years old at the time of his death. His son, Shiv Jawála Sen, is said to have died in A.D. 1722, that is five years before his father, but there is some uncertainty regarding this event. The Mandi

Shiv Jawála Sen.

[1] *The Rájas of the Punjab*, pp. 580-81.
[2] *Vide* Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

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Shiv Jawála Sen.

Chronicles state that he reigned three years, but this may only mean that he acted as co-ruler of the State with his father for three years before his death, as indeed he is said to have done. Cunningham is evidently wrong in assigning his reign to the period from A.D. 1727 to 1750.

The story is related in Mandi that during Rája Sidh Sen's absence from his capital both the Ránís of Shiv Jawála Sen gave birth to sons; since the news of Shamsher Sen's birth reached the Rája first he was recognised as the elder. Strife arose between the two Ránís and the Rája ordered a sword and a heap of dust to be placed near where the two children were playing. Shamsher Sen at once scrambled to and caught hold of the sword, while the other infant showed his preference for the dust. Thereupon the Rája declared Shamsher Sen the elder, and named the other Dhur Jatiya or dust-eater.

Shamsher Sen, 1727 A. D.

Shamsher Sen, A.D. 1727. He was the son of Shiv Jawála Sen and succeeded to the *gaddi* at the age of five, his reign being thus a very long one. During his minority the administration was carried on by Mián Juppu, an illegitimate brother of Sidh Sen, and to him was entrusted the tutelage of the young Chief. Soon after his accession a matrimonial alliance was arranged between Shamsher Sen and a daughter of Rája Ugar Singh of Chamba (A.D. 1720-35). This event lends corroboration to the conclusion that Shamsher Sen directly followed Sidh Sen in the succession.

[1] Soon afterwards an outbreak took place in Kulu which resulted in the addition of a district to Mandi. Rája Jai Singh (A.D. 1731-42) was driven out of his territory and took refuge in Lahore, and during the confusion Mandi was able to seize the Chuhár *'iláqa*, which with only one short interval has remained State territory ever since. The forts of Amargarh, Deogarh, Mastpur and Sari were also captured.

Shamsher Sen seems to have been of weak intellect and as he grew up to manhood he fell under the evil influence of people of low social status, who used their power to their own advantage and the injury of the State.

By this time Mián Juppu, the able and faithful minister, had been removed by death. While he lived he and the queen-mother, a daughter of the Rána of Hatli, managed the State affairs with great discretion. After the Ráni's death, the Rája became addicted to low company, and a feeling of distrust and alienation arose between him and Juppu. Enemies of the minister probably did their utmost to foment this feeling. It is indeed

[1] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 582.

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Shamsher Sen, 1727 A. D.

said that the Ráni and Juppu did not agree, and that she was hostile to him, but there is no documentary evidence of importance to support this. However the case may be, so much is certain that Juppu had aroused the enmity of two powerful men, named Har Dás and Dharmnáth, and at their instigation he was murdered. The Rája was so incensed at the crime that he ordered the murderers to be executed.

The tragic end of Mián Juppu left a gap in the administration which was partially filled by Dhur Jatiya, younger brother of the Rája, who now came into the arena of public affairs.

Till A.D. 1752 the Hill States had been under the rule of the Mughal Empire, but in that year Mughal supremacy came to an end with the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Sháh Durráni. The Afgháns, however, were never able to exercise more than a nominal control over the eastern Hill States, all of which regained their independence. Nawáb Adína Beg Khán was then Súba or Governor of Jullundur and used to make incursions into the hills. In 1745-46 he advanced with an army to Guler and thence to Bhangál, intending to invade Mandi, but soon retired on finding that Kamláh was too strong to be stormed.

The name of Adína Beg Khán[1] is often referred to in the vernacular history of the State, and it seems probable that Mandi was more or less under his control. [2] This remarkable man had risen from a humble position and by his ability had attracted the notice of Zakariya Khán, Viceroy of Lahore, by whom he was made Ḳárdár of Sultánpur and then of Bahrámpur in Gurdáspur. About A.D 1743-44 he was advanced to the position of Governor of Jullundur, an office which he held till 1756—when he became Viceroy of the Punjab under the Mughals. On the Maratha conquest of the province in 1758 he was appointed their Viceroy, but died in the same year. For a time in 1758 he held sway over the whole of the Kángra hills, and all the Hill States and even the Mughal Governor of Kángra were compelled to submit to him.[3] On his demise Mandi must have come soon afterwards under the influence of the Sikhs, though no mention of them occurs in the history till after 1781—in the reign of Surma Sen.

The later years of Shamsher Sen's reign were embittered by dissensions at home. Dhur Jatiya, his younger brother and minister, had gradually acquired so much power that even the Rája was afraid of him. All the Miáns or royal kinsmen were

[1] He founded the town of Dinánagar, near Gurdáspur, which he named after himself, and often resided there.

[2] *Vide History of the Punjab*, Latíf, p. 232.

[3] Adína Beg seems to have been practically independent from 1752 till his death in 1758. In the latter year he was Viceroy of the Punjab under the Marathas.

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Shamsher Sen, 1737 A.D.

entirely at his bidding and it is even said that he purposed to set aside the heir-apparent, Surma Singh—or put him out of the way—so as to open the way to the *gadái* for himself.

Surma Sen had, as his companion and tutor a young Brahman named Bairági Rám, and when it became evident that the young prince's life was in danger, the two in company fled to Suket and Biláspur, and then to Nádaun, where an asylum was found at the Katoch court with Rája Sansár Chand. After some time they returned with a force and expelled the Miáns, Dhur Jatiya taking refuge in Suket. Shamsher Sen died in A.D. 1781, having reigned for 54 years.[1]

Surma Sen, 1781 A.D.

Surma Sen, A. D. 1781.—Lepel Griffin makes no mention of this Rája though he is well spoken of in the records. His early training had been in the school of adversity and out of those trying vicissitudes of life he came with a firm resolve not to let the Miáns, his kinsmen, have the upper hand. The result was that they and the officials had a wholesome fear of him, and as the Chronicle naively remarks "in his reign all Miáns were powerless and the State prospered." Had these pregnant words been laid to heart, the State would have been saved much trouble. Bairági Rám, his Brahman tutor, became his *Wazír* and ruled the State wisely.

[2]Meanwhile events of great importance to Mandi were ripening in Kángra. On the decline of the Mughal power and cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Sháh in 1752 the Rája of Kángra, then residing at Nádaun, assumed independence and recovered all the territory of which his ancestors had been deprived. Kángra fort, the ancient capital of the kingdom, alone held out, under the command of the last of the Mughal Governors of the Kángra hills, named Saif-ullah Khán, who continued to maintain his position against all assailants for more than forty years. In 1776 Sansár Chand succeeded to the throne of Kángra and soon afterwards, in conjunction with Jai Singh Kanhiya, he made strong efforts to capture the fort, but without success. In 1781, however, it fell by stratagem into the hands of Jai Singh, and Sansár Chand had to wait till 1786, when the Sikh chieftain, having been defeated on the plains, was compelled to retire from the hills, and he surrendered the fort into Sansár Chand's hands. With the prestige which the possession of the fort conferred, Sansár Chand claimed paramount authority over all the other States and compelled them to pay tribute and supply contingents for his

[1] A document in the Chamba archives states that Shamsher Sen, Surma Sen, his son, Sansár Chand of Kángra and Ráj Singh, of Chamba, in 1778, entered into an agreement to invade Makarsa (Kulu) and seized Bhangál. *Cf.* Chamba Museum Cat., p. 69, C. 18.

[2] Kángra Settlement Report, pp. 9-10.



The Shivrátri Fair in the time of H. H. Raja Ishwari Sen 1789—1826 A. D.

military expeditions. Mandi had to acknowledge his supremacy and supply a contingent for the invasion of Kulu.[1]

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Surma Sen died in 1788, and was succeeded by his son, Ishwari Sen, a boy only four years old.

Surma Sen, 1781 A. D.

Ishwari Sen, A.D. 1788.—The Rája being a minor, the administration remained in the hands of Bairági Rám, who had been *Wazír* all through the previous reign; and during the long minority the fortunes of the State were reduced to their lowest ebb. When Surma Sen's strong hand was withdrawn, the Miáns again began to give trouble, with the object of turning the *Wazír* out of the State. Seeing their intention he applied for help to Rája Sansár Chand of Kángra, who was only too ready to avail himself of the opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the State. About 1792 he invaded Mandi and plundered the capital. The Rája of Suket tendered his allegiance and was rewarded with the rich district of Hatli; that of Chuhár was given to Kulu; and Anantpur Sansár Chand retained in his own hands. The Rája, Ishwari Sen, was conveyed to Tehra Sujánpur and detained a prisoner at Sansár Chand's Court for 12 years. Meanwhile the State was left in the hands of its ministers and ordered to pay a tribute of one lakh of rupees. Deprived of the presence of their ruler and robbed of some of the richest provinces, Mandi continued to struggle on against its hard lot, but to little purpose. Kamláh alone was saved from falling into Sansár Chand's hands, though he made various efforts to obtain possession of it.

Ishwari Sen, 1788 A. D.

[2]By the end of the 18th century Sansár Chand had completely established his power in the hills and won for himself a renown such as had never been approached by any of his ancestors. The rulers of all the other Hill States stood in awe of him and he carried matters with such a high hand that none dared to resist his will. But his boundless ambition was in the end the cause of his own ruin, as well as of most of the other States. In 1803-04 he twice invaded the plains in the neighbourhood of Hoshiárpur, but was defeated and driven back into the hills by Ranjít Singh, who was then rising into power. Disappointed in his designs on the plains, he in 1805 turned his arms against Kahlúr (Biláspur), and annexed a portion of the territory on the right bank of the Sutlej. The Kahlúr Chief was unable to oppose him, but determined on retaliation, and he appealed to the Gurkhas for help.

In order to make the course of events clear to the reader it is necessary to explain that before 1803 the Gurkhas of Nepál

[1]A document exists in Chamba containing an agreement between Chamba and Kahlúr and Mandi to conquer Makarsa (Kulu) and divide it equally among them. It is dated in 1786. *Cf.* Chamba Museum Cat., p. 71, C. 39.

[2]*Vide* Kángra Settlement Report, pp. 10-11.

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had entered on a career of conquest, and subdued the entire hill country between the Gogra and Sutlej. It is said that they were ambitious of conquering the hill tracts as far west as Kashmír, and even of establishing their power in the Punjab plains. The invitation of the Biláspur Rája was thus in keeping with their ulterior designs, and it was supported by the rulers of all the States to the west of the Sutlej, as far as the Rávi. These all formed a confederation against Sansár Chand, and took an oath of fidelity to Amar Singh Thápa, the Commander of the Gurkha forces, and sent their contingents to the number of 10,000 men to help in the war.[1] Sansár Chand was defeated at Mahal Mori, and had to retreat to Kángra, pursued by the Gurkhas. On their advance, Ishwari Sen of Mandi was liberated from his confinement and gave in his submission to the Gurkhas, on condition of being left in unmolested possession of his territory, and promising, on his part, to make no opposition to the occupation of Kángra. The siege of Kángra fort lasted for four years, but the Gurkhas were unable to capture it. They laid waste the country and reduced Sansár Chand to such extremities that he was constrained to ask help from Ranjít Singh. This was agreed to on condition that Kángra fort and the district of Bandhota should be ceded. A treaty having been concluded at Jawála Mukhi, Ranjít Singh, in May 1809, advanced into the hills with a large army and compelled the Gurkhas to retire across the Sutlej.[2]

In being freed from the Gurkhas, however, Sansár Chand only came within the grasp of a more dangerous and rapacious foe, and from that time Kángra and all the other States became tributary to Ranjít Singh. Mandi was made to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000. Sirdár Desa Singh Majíthia was the first Sikh *Názim* or Governor of the Kángra hills and in 1815 he raised the *nazarána* to one lakh, but in 1816 or 1817 it was again reduced by judicious bribery to Rs. 50,000. As some small compensation, the districts alienated by Sansár Chand were restored to the State. Jemadár Khushál Singh seems to have been generally the officer appointed to collect the tribute.

Rája Ishwari Sen had a younger brother named Zálim Singh who was constantly engaged in intrigues against him, causing much injury and loss to the State. The increase in the tribute money was chiefly the outcome of these intrigues, which reached a climax when Zálim Singh betook himself to the Sikh court at Lahore. There he offered to pay a large tribute if made Rája in place of his brother. Ranjít Singh had a strong antipathy to the

[1] Basohli, Mankot, Jasrota and Jammu also joined the confederation against Sansár Chand.
[2] Kángra Settlement Report, pp 10-11.

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Rájpút Chiefs of the hills, as representing the ancient aristocracy of the country who regarded him with disdain as of inferior birth and rank to themselves. He was therefore all the readier to take advantage of their own internal dissensions to inflict injury upon them. On the occasion referred to, however, a reconciliation was effected between the two brothers and the crisis passed. The remainder of Ishwari Sen's reign was uneventful, and he died in 1826.

[1] During the latter part of this reign Mandi offered an asylum to two *ex*-Rájas, and made liberal provision for them. One of these was the *ex*-Rája of Bashahr who lived there for a considerable time. The other was the *ex*-Rája of Nagpur, who resided in Mandi for four years after having been driven out of his territory. He was busy all the time intriguing with Lahore in the hope of being allowed to raise troops. On the death of Ishwari Sen he sought an asylum elsewhere.

Visit of William Moorcroft.

[2] William Moorcroft, the traveller, was the first European to visit Mandi, in March 1820. He came by way of Biláspur and Suket. Leaving his camp at Mandi in charge of Mr. Trebeck he went to Lahore to obtain the permission of Ranjít Singh to his journey northwards, and returned *viâ* Nádaun, Tehra Sujánpur, Baijnáth and Gumán, and thence over the Dulchi Pass into Kulu.

His narrative is interesting and we give it in full: "Having resumed our route (from Suket) and entered the Mandi territory we were met by a body of men armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, and swords, headed by the commandant of the fort of Ner, on the left of our path, who prohibited our further progress, without positive orders from the Rája to sanction our proceeding. A letter was therefore despatched, requesting the Rája's permission to traverse his district, and sent off by one of my people, who was acquainted with the country."

"In the evening the messenger returned with information that some Sikhs, who were at Mandi for the purpose of receiving tribute, had threatened the Rája with the displeasure of Ranjít Singh if he suffered us to pass through his country, and shortly afterwards came a letter from the Sikh Sirdárs desiring us to remain where we were until an answer from their master, to whom information of our coming had been communicated, could be received. To this I replied, that I was simply a merchant travelling to Leh with goods for sale, on which I was willing to pay all customary duties, that I knew of no

[1] *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 583. Princep's *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, pp. 55-6. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 109-10.

[2] Moorcroft, *Travels*., Vol. I, pp. 45-6-7.

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reason they could have for detaining me, and that if they persisted in their purpose I would have recourse to their Chief and repair myself to Lahore. After some discussion they were obliged to consent to this arrangement, and accordingly taking a few of my people with me, I left the rest and all the merchandise under charge of my young friend and companion, Mr. Trebeck, at Dhansi, the place at which we were encamped. The Rája of Mandi promised to watch over its security, and furnish every facility that might be desired for its conveyance and disposal, as well as provide supplies for the people. He repeatedly assured me of his regret at opposing an impediment in my way, and of his being compelled so to act against his wishes by fear of the Sikhs ; he even offered to allow us to proceed if I would take all the responsibility upon myself, and assure him of the countenance of my Government. As, however, I was travelling in a mercantile character alone, without pretending to any political authority, I declined making him this assurance and, thanking him for his civility and friendly intention, persevered in my determination to appeal in person to Ranjít Singh."

[1]Moorcroft then proceeded to Lahore returning by Nádaun and Baijnáth, while Mr. Trebeck, his companion, remained at Mandi, and afterwards rejoined Mr. Moorcroft in Kulu He says : " After a detention of some weeks we quitted Mandi on the 11th of July. The town presents little worthy of notice, although it is of some extent, being fully thrice as large as Kulu. It is situated in the angle between the Beás and Suketi rivers. The most conspicuous object is the palace of the Rája, which stands in the southern part of the town and presents a number of tall white buildings, with roofs of blue slate, concave like those of Chinese pagodas. The general appearance of the houses resembles that of the buildings at Almora. Close to the entrance of the town are several pilasters and smaller blocks of stone, bearing representations in relief of the Rájas of Mandi. One of these is set up on the death of each Rája, and sometimes on the demise of his relations. Each is sculptured also with the figures of his wives who have been burnt with him, a practice carried here to a frightful extent On several occasions, I am told, the number of these victims of superstition has exceeded thirty. A very good *ghát* cut in the rock leads to the river, which is crossed by a crazy ferry-boat. Most of our baggage was carried across on skins. The breadth of the river varies as the high rocky banks recede. In one place it was two hundred yards across, and opposite to where we encamped it was above one hundred and fifty yards. In some places where the bank is

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 172-3-4.

Visit of William Moorcroft.

shelving, the river beats up it with a considerable surf. The depth varies; it was two fathoms where we brought to, but in some parts along the bank it was much more shallow. It undergoes, however, a periodical rise and fall every day, owing to the melting of the snow on the mountains, where it rises, as the heat of the sun increases. The effect of this is felt at Mandi in the evening. The river then begins to swell and continues rising through the night. In the morning it declines and through the day loses considerably, perhaps one-third of its body of water."

" Near Mandi, on the opposite side of the Suketi river, is a large temple, dedicated to an image which, five generations or above two centuries ago, was purchased by an ancestor of the Rája at Jagannáth for seven hundred rupees, and was brought here at great expense."

" The Rája of Mandi, Ishwari Sen, is a short stout man, about thirty-five, of limited understanding and extreme timidity. The latter he inherits from his father, of whom it is asserted that he passed an order that no gun should be fired off in his country In his infancy he was either a ward or a prisoner to Sansár Chand and he was indebted to the Gurkhas for restoration to his *ráj*. He assisted them in their invasion of Kángra and also aided Ranjít Singh in his operations against Kángra and Kulu. This has not preserved him from the fate of the other hill Rájas. He is tributary to the Sikh and treated by him with contumely and oppression."

Zálim Sen, 1826 A.D.

Zálim Sen, A. D. 1826 —On the death of Ishwari Sen without legitimate male heirs, his brother, Zálim Sen, succeeded to the *gaddi*. He had, however, to pay a lakh of rupees as succession duty to Lahore, and the tribute was fixed at Rs. 75,000.

Zálim Sen was cruel and capricious and his oppressive methods in extorting money from his people have become proverbial.

It is said that when the succession duty came to be paid the treasury was unequal to the burden, and it was made up by exactions from bankers and traders. The present poverty of Mandi is in large measure attributed to the fact that the wealthy families were almost ruined by these exactions. A tax on the collections of revenue, called *balich*, taken from village and local officials, was also an exaction which caused much discontent.

Zálim Sen alienated from himself the loyalty of all classes of his people by his instigation of the murder of Dhári, the *Wazír* of the State, whose interest with Ranjít Singh had saved the country from annexation.

Some years before his death Zálim Sen made over the administration to his nephew, Balbír Singh, one of the younger

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sons of Ishwari Sen by a concubine, to the exclusion of his uncle. This act is all the more remarkable that it deprived Zálim Sen's own illegitimate son of the right of succession. But the formal declaration of Zálim Sen in his own life-time settled the matter against all opposition, and the Lahore Court was easily prevailed upon to acknowledge the succession by the payment of a large sum in name of succession duty. Záiim Sen died in 1839.

Balbír Sen, 1839 A.D.

Balbír Sen, A.D. 1839.—The succession of Balbír Sen was keenly resented by the Miáns and more especially by the descendants of Dhur Jatiya, the younger brother of Shamsher Sen, who were in the legitimate line of descent. The Rája was twenty-two years of age at the time of his accession and two months afterwards Mandi was visited by Mr. Vigne in the course of his journey through the hills. He speaks of Balbír Sen in the following terms : "[1]The young Rája himself is short and stout in person, with a jovial, good-natured and remarkably European-like countenance. He was uncommonly civil and prodigal of his expressions of regard and friendship for the English, and unlike many other Rájas, he allowed me to depart when I wished, without pressing me to stay a day longer than suited my convenience."

Visit of Mr. Vigne.

"The palace at Mandi is a long barrack-like, but not unpicturesque, building with whitened walls, gable ends and slated roofs. Before it is a large oak, and on the west of it is a garden in which the Rája had pitched a tent for me. The walks, as is the case generally in the east, were straight, and raised above the surface of the borders so that they could not be injured by the system of irrigation which is universally practised. The borders themselves were covered with but one mass of orange, shaddock, and citron trees which were loaded with a profusion of fruit. The bazar is large and well stocked for so insignificant a place. A large proportion of the town is on the opposite side of the Beás, and accessible by a large ferry-boat. The river passes the town from east to west and immediately turns due north, and continues in the same direction for about four miles, which is singular, considering how near it is to its debouchure on the plains. It is very deep at Mandi, and flights of steps, or *ghâts*, Hindu images and a large figure of the monkey god, Hanúmán, have been sculptured on the rock by the riverside and *thákurdváras* or Hindu temples are conspicuous in different places of the town."

" I partook of the Rája's hospitality in a part of the palace which had lately been fitted up and painted in the Indian fashion,

[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 77-80-1-2-3.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 79 to 84.

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in fresco on a snow-white wall. The dinner he gave me consisted of the usual eastern delicacies, rice, curries, sweetmeats and sherbets ; and I afterwards received the customary *kilaat* or dress of honour, which said *kilaat* is generally made up of a Kashmír shawl or two of little value, pieces of the *kimkab*, or brocade of Benáres, and several pieces of different stuffs, usually the produce of Kashmír, or peculiar to the country of the donor." While in Mandi Mr. Vigne witnessed the rite of *sati* which he fully describes : " One morning my *munshi* came to me, and told me that a *sati* (Suttee), or widow who was going to burn herself on the funeral pile of her husband, was about to pass by the garden gate. I hastened to obtain a sight of her. She was dressed in her gayest attire ; a large crowd of persons followed her, as she walked forward with a hurried and faltering step, like that of a person about to faint. A Brahman supported her on either side, and these as well as many around were calling loudly and almost fiercely upon the different Hindu deities, and the name which was most repeatedly and most earnestly called upon was that of Jagannáth, but I do not know whether they alluded to the great idol of Bengal, or to some local divinity............ Her countenance had assumed a sickly and ghastly appearance, which was partly owing to internal agitation, and partly, so I was informed, to the effects of opium and *bhang* and other narcotics, with which she had been previously drugged in order to render her less awake to the misery of her situation. She was not, however, so insensible to what was passing as to be inattentive to two persons in particular, amongst several others, who were stooping before her, and were evidently imploring her blessing,--they were probably near relations. She was presented at intervals with a plate of moist red colour, in which saffron was no doubt an ingredient, and into this she dipped the ends of her fingers, and then impressed them on the shoulders of the persons who stooped before her in order to be thus marked."

" In about half an hour the preparations were completed. She was regularly thatched in upon the top of the pile, whilst her husband's body yet lay outside. It was finally lifted up to her ; the head, as usual, and which is the most interesting part of the ceremony, was received upon her lap ; the fire was applied in different parts and all was so quickly enveloped in a shroud of mingled flame and smoke that I believe her sufferings to have been of very short duration, as she must almost immediately have been suffocated."

Sikh expedition to Mandi.

[1]Ranjít Singh died in 1839 and the affairs of the Sikh kingdom soon began to fall into disorder. Mahárája Kharak Singh

[1]*The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 585.

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was weak and incapable and all power came into the hands of his son, Nau Nihál Singh. The Sikh army, which had long been difficult to control, became dangerous to the State when not actively employed, and among other ways of diverting its attention the conquest of Mandi and Kulu was determined on, though these States had given no cause for offence. At that time the conquest of Ladákh and Tibet was much talked of at Lahore and before an expedition was despatched it was thought necessary to reduce Mandi completely, and especially not to leave in the rear the strong fortress of Kamláh.

Accordingly in June 1840 a strong force under General Ventura was sent to Mandi and advanced to within seven miles of the capital. From there General Ventura sent to demand immediate payment of certain arrears of tribute, which formed the ostensible excuse for the expedition. This demand was at once complied with.

Balbír Sen, frightened at the forces sent against him, wrote to Col. Tapp, Political Agent at Sabáthu, begging for an asylum for himself and his family in British territory. He saw clearly that the extinction of the State had been resolved upon. The Government offered an asylum, but did not think it advisable to receive the Rája's family as political refugees nor to promise any help against the invaders.

Having paid the tribute, Balbír Sen was ordered to wait on the Sikh general in his camp, on the pretence of receiving a *khilat* or dress of honour. On his arrival he was made prisoner and required to surrender all the forts in Mandi. The Rája of Suket gave in his allegiance and played into the hands of the Sikhs against Mandi, an act which tended to increase the feeling of hostility between the two States. Mandi town was occupied and Balbír Sen being helpless agreed to every demand, and the forts were surrendered after a feeble resistance. Even Kamláh was captured in November of the same year, after a three months' siege. The Rája was sent as a prisoner to Amritsar and confined in the fort of Govindgarh. General Ventura then subdued the country and advanced into Kulu, after which he returned to Lahore in December bearing the trophies of 200 hill forts.

[1]On General Ventura's withdrawal a small Sikh force was left at Mandi under Col. Foulkes, a young English adventurer in the service of the Sikhs, who had distinguished himself during the siege of Kamláh. The force mutinied and he was advised to depart at once, but refused to do so. In the night he was awakened, and before he could escape he was cut down, a funeral pyre was prepared and he was thrown upon it while still alive.

[1]Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 130-31.

Sikh expedition to Mandi.

In January 1841 Sher Singh became Maháràja of Lahore. He was kindly disposed towards the hill chiefs and in the following May Balbír Sen was set at liberty and permitted to return to Mandi, taking with him the image of the goddess (*devi*) which had been carried away by the Sikhs from the fortress of Kamláh.

During Balbír Sen's imprisonment Sheikh Ghulám Muhai-ul-dín, the most grasping of all the Sikh revenue officers, had been in charge of the State, and had been directed to make a settlement of the territory for Rs. 2,35,000. On his return the Rája was ordered to increase the revenue to four lakhs, of which one lakh was to be retained for his own use and the greater part of the balance, in one way or another, was to be paid over to the Sikhs, whose tyranny soon became intolerable. The Rája never succeeded in raising four lakhs of revenue, but with the connivance of the Majíthia Sirdárs, Lehna Singh and Ranjodh Singh, who were the Sikh *Názims* of the hills, he succeeded in retaining considerably more than the one lakh assigned him.

Tender of allegiance to the British Government.

Previous to the first Sikh War Balbír Sen had been in secret communication with Mr. Erskine, Superintendent of Hill States, with a view to securing British protection; and though compelled to send a contingent of 300 men to the Sikh army for the campaign on the Sutlej, yet his sympathies were with the British. Immediately after the battle of Sobráon he and the Raja of Suket sent a confidential agent, named Sibu Pandit, to Mr. Erskine, tendering their allegiance to the British Government, and requesting an interview. This was readily granted and on 21st February 1846 the two chiefs visited Mr. Erskine at Biláspur and gave in their allegiance in person. But the Rája did not wait for the conclusion of the war before attempting to free his country He boldly attacked the Sikh garrisons in the State and captured all the forts except Kamláh, which did not surrender till the war was over. On 9th March 1846 a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Sikh Durbár whereby, among other provisions, the whole of the Doáb between the Sutlej and Beás was ceded in perpetuity to Government. Mandi and Suket being within the ceded territory came directly under British control, and were placed in charge of the Commissioner of Jullundur. Thereupon a claim to the *gaddi* was advanced by Mián Bhúp Singh, the descendant of Dhur Jatiya, younger brother of Shamsher Sen, and the head of the legitimate branch of the Mandi family. The Supreme Government, however, disallowed the claim, on the ground that for four generations that branch of the family had been excluded, and that it was inadvisable to revive obsolete claims. The Rája was,

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therefore, confirmed in his possessions, and on 24th October 1846 a *sanad* was granted him defining his rights and obligations. By virtue of this *sanad* the suzerainty of Mandi State was finally transferred from the Sikh to the British Government.

Tender of allegiance to the British Government.

On the refusal of the Government to entertain his claim to the *ráj*, the advisers of Mián Bhúp Singh, then a minor of ten years, raised 3,000 men from Kángra and Kahlúr and made an attack on Mandi by night, destroying much property. They also plundered the salt quarry at Gumán. A small force was sent against them and they were easily dispersed. Bhúp Singh with his brothers was captured and imprisoned in Simla, but soon released on promise of good conduct, though he refused to relinquish his claim to the throne.

Mr. John Lawrence (afterwards Lord Lawrence) was then the Commissioner of Jullundur and Political Agent of the Hill States. In the autumn of 1846, he visited Mandi on his way to Kulu and advised the Rája to make roads in the State. Mr. Barnes, the first Deputy Commissioner of Kángra, also settled the boundaries between Mandi, Suket and Kángra.

The authority of Balbír Sen was now firmly established under the sanction of the British Government, and he was supported in the administration by a man who is said to have been even more powerful than himself. This was his famous minister, *Wazír* Gosáon, whose name is still remembered in the State. It was chiefly through his agency that the Rája had obtained the *gaddi* from the Sikhs, and by his ability alone was its possession maintained. For this reason he had become an object of jealously to the Rája, and of envy to a party in the State, who hoped to benefit by his fall. *Wazír* Gosáon, however, had the support of the Government, and the Rája was wise enough to realize that without his minister's help, his position and even his life would have been in danger.

Rája Balbír Sen died on 26th January 1851, leaving three sons, Bijai Sen, Pardhán Singh and Mán Singh, of whom the heir-apparent, Bijai Sen, was only four years old. The State was then again confronted with a long minority which had so often been a fruitful cause of trouble.

Bijai Sen, 1859 A.D.

Bijai Sen, A.D. 1851.—On the demise of the late Rája his mother, an intriguing woman, tried to get the administration into her own hands, but she was promptly set aside. *Wazír* Gosáon was still in office and though he had many enemies he was the ablest and most capable man in the State. He was a man of great financial ability and experience, and had an intimate knowledge of the country, and his services were soon found to be indispensable even by his enemies; when, therefore, the



H. H. Raja Sir Bije Sen, K.C.S.I.



H. H. Raja Bhiwani Sen.

Bijái Sen, 1851 A. D.

question of a Council of Regency came up for decision, his name was submitted as president and approved by the Board of Administration. The other members were Mián Bhág Singh, younger brother of Balbír Sen, and Parohit Shib Shankar, the spiritual adviser. In two years, however, it was found necessary to re-organize the Council and almost the entire control of the administration, judicial and financial, was given to *Wazír* Gosáon. This arrangement worked well for some years, and greatly to the benefit of the State.

About this time the case of Mián Bhúp Singh and his brothers, descendants of Dhur Jatiya, came up for settlement and, after some delay, an allowance of Rs. 1,220 a year was fixed, Bhúp Singh engaging not to enter or disturb the Mandi State.

In 1859, Rája Bijai Sen, then a boy of thirteen, was married to the granddaughter of the Rája of Datárpur, and soon afterwards to a niece of the Rája of Guler. The superintendence of his education had been entrusted to Parohit Shib Shankar and soon afterwards it was found that his training has been almost entirely neglected. Griffin says: "Not only was the education of the Rája neglected but both the Parohit Shib Shankar and *Wazír* Gosáon winked at, even if they did not encourage, excesses which seriously injured the constitution of the young prince. A change, therefore, became necessary, and in 1861 this was effected by the banishment of Parohit Shib Shankar and his son to Kángra, while the *Wazír* was fined Rs. 2,000." After this change affairs went on more smoothly, and in 1868 Mr. Clark, an officer of the Educational Department, was appointed to superintend the Rája's education.

In November 1868, Lord Elgin, the first Viceroy of India under the Crown, made a tour in the hills, and, on his way from Kulu, he halted at Bhadwáni, Jhatingri and Drang, within the Mandi State. The Rája, accompanied by the queen-mother, went to Drang for an interview. The Viceroy soon afterwards fell sick of pneumonia and died at Chauntra, on November 20th, and was buried at Dharmsála.

In 1864, the Government granted the Rája a salute of 11 guns, and on 12th October 1866, having attained his majority, he was formally invested by Sir Douglas Forsyth with the powers of a ruling prince. On this occasion he devoted one lakh of rupees for works of public utility in the State, as an auspicious commencement of his reign. These included a school, hospital and post-office in the town of Mandi, a good mule road from Baijnáth to Sultánpur in Kulu, over the Bhubu Pass, and sarais and travellers' bungalows along the line of road from the Kángra valley, through Mandi, towards Kulu and Simla.

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Bijái Sen, 1851 A. D.

The boundary between Mandi and Suket, on the Hatli side, was also finally settled by the Commissioner of Jullundur.

Unfortunately, the early promise of the Rája's reign was not realized and the administration soon fell into the greatest confusion, which was made worse by the fact that Mr. Clark, who had been appointed Councillor to the Rája, and *Wazír* Gosáon did not work in harmony. *Wazír* Gosáon died in February 1870, and after various efforts to bring about an improvement without success, Mr. Clark was, in 1870, removed from Mandi and Mr. E. Harrison, B.C.S., was appointed in his place, to introduce reforms long promised and long delayed. This change was fraught with much advantage to the State, and the administration continued to progress smoothly. Mr. Harrison discontinued certain allowances to State servants and granted an increase of salary instead.

In October 1871 Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, paid a visit to Mandi. His Excellency came *viâ* Biláspur and Suket and the Naya Mahal was prepared for his reception. He was accompanied by Mr. A. Brandreth, Commissioner of Jullundur. A Durbár was held in the Dera at which all the State officials and principal residents were presented. The Rája was also present at the Durbár at Pálampur to which all the Hill Chiefs had been invited. In 1872, Mr. Harrison left Mandi on his promotion to a higher appointment, and the administration was entrusted to the State officials and continued to work well.

In 1874 Sir Henry Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, paid a visit to Mandi and was pleased with the arrangements made for his journey.

Meanwhile the Rája had been assisted in the administration by his brother, Mián Pardhán Singh, who was very popular with the people. He, however, died in Bhádon, S. 1932=A. D. 1875, and Mián Uttam Singh was appointed *Wazír* in his place. He found that a large sum had been misappropriated from the Treasury and all the Treasury officials were compelled to make good the loss.

Rája Bijái Sen was present at the Proclamation Durbár at Delhi in January 1877, and in commemoration of the auspicious event he caused to be built the Victoria Suspension Bridge over the Beás at Mandi, at an expense of one lakh of rupees.

In 1878 Mián Uttam Singh was removed from office and Mián Mán Singh, younger brother of the Rája, was appointed to succeed him. In the following year a State Council was formed, with the assent of the Rája, by Colonel W. G Davies, the Commissioner. The members were Mián Mán Singh,

Bijái Sen, 1851 A. D.

Pádha Jiwa Nand, and Munshi Ganga Singh. Soon afterwards, however, some reforms were carried out by Mián Mán Singh which displeased the Rája and gave rise to unfriendly feeling between them, and the Mián resigned and left the State for Mattra. Mián Uttam Singh was then recalled to office in the end of 1880.

In October 1880 Sir Robert Egerton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, passed through Mandi territory on his way from Kulu to the Kángra valley, halting at Bhadwáni, Jhatingri and Dhelu. The Rája met His Honour at Jhatingri.

In 1881 the construction of several new lines of road was begun by the State, under the supervision of Mr. E. W. Purkis, Engineer. These were — a new road from Mandi to Kulu by the Dulchi Pass, 31 miles in length, with a suspension bridge over the Uhl river, at a cost of Rs 40,000 ; a cart road from Baijnáth to Mandi ; and a road from Mandi to Bhámla, 25 miles long.

In 1883 Sir Charles Aitchison visited Mandi. He came from Simla *viâ* Biláspur and halted at Mandi for three days, afterwards proceeding to Kulu *viâ* the Dulchi Pass. He was accompanied by Colonel Gordon Young, the Commissioner. On 15th Har, S. 1941 = A. D. 1884, the two daughters of Rája Bijai Sen were married to the heir-apparent of Bashahr, Rs. 2,77,000 being spent on the marriage, including a present of a lakh of rupees in cash. Of this sum Rs. 60,000 was realized from the people in marriage presents, in accordance with ancient custom.

Wazír Uttam Singh had continued to act as *Wazír* from 1880 to October 1888, when he died, and Jawáhir Lál was appointed to succeed him. This caused discontent in Saráj and a disturbance broke out. The Rája, therefore, asked for the assistance of a British officer, and Mr. H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., was appointed for a year. Sardár Jawála Singh was at the same time appointed to the office of *Wazír*.

Mr. Maynard effected many improvements in the administration. He drew up instructions for the guidance of the courts, civil and criminal suits were defined and classified, rules for the hearing of appeals and revisions were modified and the period of limitation fixed. He also drew up a careful note regarding *begár* or forced labour, and framed rules regulating and defining the rights of agriculturists in the forests.

Mr. Maynard left the State at the end of March 1890, and on his suggestion the Rája engaged Mr. C. E. Fendall as Superintendent of Works, to help in the forest administration and to look after the roads, salt quarries and *begár* labour generally. Appellate judicial work was also entrusted to him. In 1894, Mandi was visited by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick accompanied by Mr. Smyth, the

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Commissioner. He came from Kulu *viâ* the Dulchi Pass and his camp was pitched on the Pádal plain. The iron suspension bridge over the Suketi near Mandi was opened by him and named "The Fitzpatrick Suspension Bridge."

In June 1893 another disturbance arose among the Saráj people, the pretext being the use of buffalo lymph for vaccination purposes. Jawála Singh was in consequence removed from the wazírship and Mián Udham Singh was appointed.

The period from 1894 to 1900 was unfortunate for Mandi. Two sons were born to the Rája who both died in infancy. The Rája himself was constantly unwell and ultimately developed cataract in both eyes, which entirely incapacitated him from managing the State, and unfortunately Mián Udham Singh and Mr. Fendall did not work harmoniously together.

In September 1899 Mandi was visited by His Excellency Lord Elgin, who came from Dharmsála, and halted at Dhelu, Urla, Drang and Kataula on his way to Kulu. The Rája met His Excellency on the Katindi ridge. In 1901 matters had reached a crisis in the administration and Mián Udham Singh and Mr. Fendall were both removed from office, and Pádha Jíwa Nand was recalled from Jodhpur State, where he was a Member of the State Council, and appointed *Wazír*.

In November 1901 Sir W. Mackworth Young came to Mandi, accompanied by Mr. A. Anderson, the Commissioner. His Honour halted at Sakrauti, Urla, Drang and Mandi, whence he travelled down to Bhámla and into the Hoshiárpur district.

Meanwhile considerable improvement had been effected in the administration under Pádha Jíwa Nand, and his services were recognized by Government by the bestowal upon him of the title of Rai Bahádur.

Rája Bijai Sen died in 1902. He was of an amiable disposition and much beloved by his people. In recognition of his general good government it had been decided to invest him at the Delhi Durbár, on the accession of King Edward VII, with the title of K.C.S.I., and this was announced in the *Honours Gazette* three weeks after his death.

Bijái Sen left no direct heirs and in 189˙ his illegitimate son, Kanwar Bhiwáni Singh, had been recognized as his successor. It was, however, brought to the notice of Government that the Datárpur Ráni was pregnant, and the question of the succession was therefore held in abeyance. The birth of a daughter, however, settled the matter, and Bhiwáni Sen was formally installed at Mandi in November 1903 by Sir Charles Rivaz, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

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Bhiwáni Sen, 1903 A.D.

Bhiwáni Sen, A.D. 1903.—The Rája being a minor, Mr. Millar, I.C.S., was appointed Superintendent of the State, and took over charge on 30th November 1903. The young Chief's education had been carefully attended to by Mr. Anderson, and he spent five years at the Chiefs' College in Lahore, under the care of his tutor, Mr. E. M. Atkinson On the completion of his studies he returned to Mandi on 17th April 1904, after a short tour to Karáchi and Bombay. A sum of Rs. 1,10,000 was paid to Government as *nazarána* or succession duty in 1904, the balance being remitted later on, in consequence of the losses sustained by the State in the earthquake of 4th April 1905.

At the time of the earthquake the Rája and Mr. Millar were in the dâk bungalow at Pálampur and had a narrow escape, being buried in the ruins, from which they were extricated with difficulty. Much damage was done in the State. From the Baijnáth border to Mandi town, only the village of Aiju was left intact. Serious damage was also done in Bahl, Saráj, Sanor and Chuhár. The total loss of life was estimated at only 1,500, but the damage to property was very great. The town of Mandi suffered heavily. The salt quarry at Gumán was rendered unworkable for some time. Considerable damage was also done to roads and bridges in the State. The total loss entailed by the earthquake, one way and another, including damage to property, was ten lakhs of rupees. On this occasion the State acted with great liberality, grain loans from the granaries were freely distributed, *takáwi* loans were granted to those who had suffered loss and timber to the value of more than one lakh of rupees was given to the homeless, free of charge.

On October 7th, 1905, the Rája was formally invested with full administrative powers by Mr. H. A. Anderson, C.S.I., and Mr. Millar then left the State.

In November 1905 the Rája visited Lahore, with the other Punjab Chiefs, to meet the Prince of Wales.

Soon afterwards Lord Kitchener passed through Mandi territory, on his way from Simla to Kángra, and was highly pleased with the arrangements made for him.

In 1906 the Durbár Hall was built at an expense of Rs. 30,000, and the following year an electric installation was carried out costing Rs. 20,000.

During the next three years the administration continued to be conducted satisfactorily under the guidance of R.B. Pádha Jíwa Nand, the *Wazír*. Owing to excessive rainfall, serious injury was done to the cultivators' lands and crops and prices ruled unusually high.

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Bhiwáni Sen, 1903 A. D.

From 1st March 1907 the reduction of the duty on salt came into effect, and it has had an appreciable effect in increasing the out-turn, to an extent which more than compensates the British Government and the Mandi State financially for the lower rate imposed.

In 1908 Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, came from Kulu *viâ* the Dulchi Pass, and halted for a day in the Residency, on his way to instal Bhím Sen as Rája of Suket. He found the administration generally in a satisfactory condition for which credit was due to Pádha Jíwa Nand, the *Wazír*.

The beginning of the year 1909 was marked by an agrarian disturbance of a somewhat serious character. A number of *zamíndárs,* alleging oppression at the hands of certain officials, proceeded to Mandi to lay their grievances before the Rája. Not content with legitimate agitation, they laid hands on many of the State officials and thrust them into the prison. As the State forces of a hundred men proved unequal to the task of suppressing the riot, assistance was asked for from Kángra, and the Deputy Commissioner, as well as the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, soon arrived on the spot. Colonel H. S. Davies, the Commissioner, came later. Two companies of the 32nd Pioneers were called in and order was soon restored by this show of force. Pádha Jíwa Nand was then displaced by Indar Singh, son of the late *Wazír* Uttam Singh. Subsequently, Tikka Rajendar Pál, Extra Assistant Commissioner, was appointed Adviser to the Rája and Munshi Amar Singh as acting *Wazír*. The political situation then improved.

Commencement of Regular settlement.

With a view to a more even distribution of the land revenue, and a satisfactory solution of the question of *begár*, an officer of the Indian Civil Service, in the person of Mr. C. C. Garbett, was, at the request of the Rája, lent to the Durbár as Settlement Officer, and took up his duties in 1911. Mr. Garbett was, however, obliged to go on sick leave in the following October and was relieved by Mr. G. Walker, I.C.S. These changes were followed soon after by the death of Rája Bhiwáni Sen. He attended the Coronation Durbár at Delhi in December 1911, but fell ill soon after his return. Towards the end of January his condition became critical and he died on 9th February 1912. His untimely death was a severe loss to the State, all the more so as he left no direct heir to succeed him.

Jogendar Sen, 1913 A. D.

Jogendar Sen, A.D. 1913.—After some delay, Mián Jogendar Singh, the nearest natural male relative of the deceased Rája, was selected by Government and was formally installed, as Rája Jogendar Sen, by Sir Louis Dane, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, on 28th April 1913. Being a minor of 8½ years of age, the Rája was placed under instruction in Queen Mary's



H. H. Raja Jogendar Sen.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

Jogendar Sen, 1913 A. D.

College, Lahore. Mr. G. Walker was appointed Superintendent of the State, in addition to his duties as Settlement Officer, with Munshi Amar Singh as his Assistant. Mr. G Walker was obliged to go on leave on account of ill health and was succeeded as Superintendent and Settlement Officer by Mr. H W. Emerson, I.C.S., in March 1915.

At the beginning of 1916 M. Ganda Mal, who had worked throughout the Settlement as Extra Assistant Settlement Officer, succeeded M. Amar Singh as Assistant Superintendent.

The services of Mr H. L. Wright, an officer of the Indian Forest Department, were lent to the State from May 1914 to November 1917 to carry out a Forest Settlement and a Working Plan for the future exploitation of the State forests.

In October 1916 the young Rája entered the Chiefs' College, Lahore, where he is a day-boarder, residing in Lahore in charge of his tutor Mr T. P. Gillmore.

Mr. Emerson left the State at the end of June 1917 on the virtual conclusion of the Regular Settlement, and was succeeded as Superintendent by Mr. J. R. S. Parsons, I C.S.

Treaty between the British Government and the State.

The terms of the *sanad* granted by the British Government to Rája Balbír Sen in 1846 are given below, but it may be noted that they have been declared liable to amendment on the investiture with full powers of the present Rája:—

"Whereas, by the treaty concluded between the British and Sikh Governments, on the 19th March 1846, the hill country has come into the possession of the Honourable Company, and whereas Rája Balbír Sen, Chief of Mandi, the highly dignified, evinced his sincere attachment and devotion to the British Government: the State of Mandi, comprised within the same boundaries as at the commencement of the British occupation, together with full administrative powers within the same, is now granted by the British Government to him and the male heirs of his body by his Ráni from generation to generation. On failure of such heirs, any other male heir who may be proved to the British Government to be next-of-kin to the Rája shall obtain the above State with administrative powers.

"Be it known to the Rája that the British Government shall be at liberty to remove any one from the *gaddi* of Mandi who may prove to be of worthless character and incapable of properly conducting the administration of his State, and to appoint such other nearest heir of the Rája to succeed him as may be capable of the administration of the State and entitled to succeed. The Rája, or any one as above described who may succeed him, shall abide by the following terms entered in this *sanad, viz.* :—

"1. The Rája shall pay annually into the Treasury of Simla

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and Sabáthu one lakh of Company's rupees as *nazrána* by two instalments, the first instalment on the 1st of June and the second instalment on the 1st of November.

"2. He shall not levy tolls and duties on goods imported and exported, but shall consider it incumbent on him to protect bankers and traders within his State.

"3. He shall construct roads within his territory not less than 12 feet in width and keep them in repair.

"4. He shall pull down and level the forts of Kamálgarh and Nantpur, and never attempt to rebuild them.

"5. On the breaking out of disturbances, he shall, together with his troops and hill porters, whenever required, join the British Army, and be ready to execute whatever orders may be issued to him by the British authorities and supply provisions according to his means.

"6. He shall refer to the British Courts any dispute which may arise between him and any other chief.

"7. In regard to the duties on the iron and salt quarries, etc., in the territory of Mandi, rules shall be laid down after consultation with the Superintendent of the Hill States, and these rules shall not be departed from.

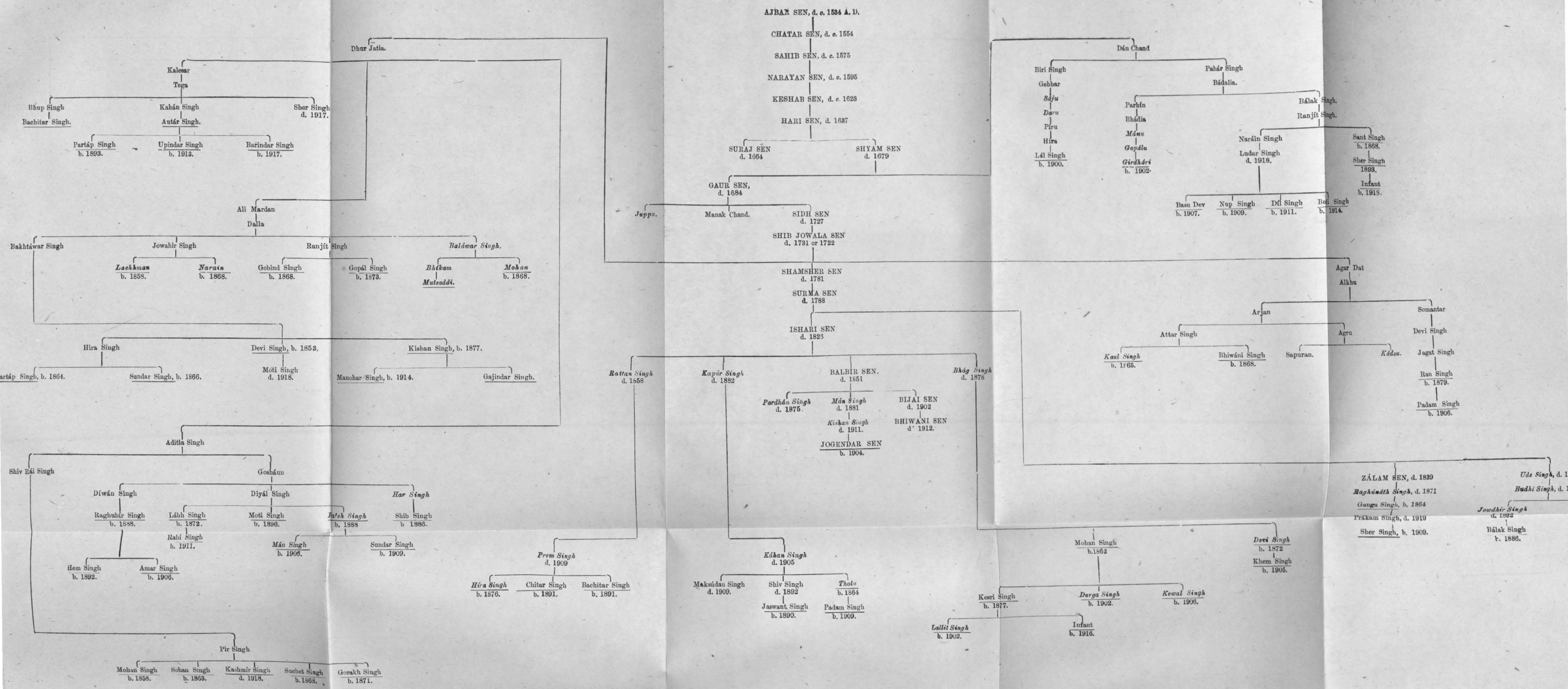
"8. The Rája shall not alienate any portion of the lands of the said territory without the knowledge and consent of the British Government, nor transfer it by way of mortgage.

"9. He shall also put an end to the practice of slave-dealing, *sati*, female infanticide, and the burning or drowning of lepers which are opposed to British laws, that no one in future shall venture to revive them.

"It behoves the Rája not to encroach beyond the boundaries of his State on the territory of any other chief, but to abide by the terms of this *sanad*, and to adopt such measures as may tend to the welfare of his people, the prosperity of his country and the improvement of the soil, and ensure the administration of even-handed justice to the aggrieved, the restoration to the people of their just rights, and the security of the roads. He shall not subject his people to extortion, but keep them always contented. The subjects of the State of Mandi shall regard the Rája and his successors as above described to be the sole proprietor of that territory, and never refuse to pay him the revenue due by them, but remain obedient to him and act up to his just orders."

Genealogical table.

The following genealogical table shows the descent of the present Rája from Rája Ajbar Sen.



Foot-Notes—
Italic indicate *sartora*.
Persons where names are underline were alive in 1919.
d = died : b = born.

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History.

The history of institutions.

To the account of the political history of the State may be added a description of certain principles of government which, though often obscured by external struggles and internal maladministration, are still apparent They are not peculiar to Mandi, but can be traced throughout the Western Himalayas where the country is, or at one time was, under the independent rule of Indian Chiefs. The authority of the Rája was of a three-fold nature—religious, feudal, and personal. He was the head of the State religion, venerated as divine either in his own right, or as vice-regent of the national god; he was supreme and sole owner of the soil, the fountain from which issued the right of the cultivator to a share of the produce; and he was the ruler and master of his subjects who owed him personal allegiance and service. The nature of the Rájas' authority was largely derived from their predecessors, the Ránas and the Thákurs, who, within their limited sphere, were invested with the same attributes of primitive kingship. Indeed, in their case, there is some reason to believe that the theocratic basis on which their rule was constituted was given fuller recognition in practice than has been the case in regard to the later Rájpút conquerors of the hills. The gods of their kingdoms still survive as both territorial and personal deities, and in some parts of the hills the connection between them and the former petty chieftains is sometimes of great interest. Traces of the relationship are to be found in Mandi. The god Parásar, for instance, is one of the important territorial deities of the State, having under him a number of village gods who, with their followers, acknowledge his suzerainty. His chief *pujári*—the office is hereditary— is the local *Thákur*, the family claiming that they were at one time Ránas, but that on conquest by the Rájas they were not allowed to retain the title. The *pujári*, by virtue of his office, performs the rites of hair cutting of all male subjects of the god, a ceremony which in many, if not all parts of the hills represents their entry within the jurisdiction of the god.

The theocratic nature of the sovereignty.

The divinity of kingship, however it arose, appears to have been recognised from very early times in the Himalayas, and is one source of the intimate connection between State and religion which has always obtained. Occasionally, as in the case of Keonthal State, the Rája is identified with and worshipped as the national deity, but the more common relationship makes the god the rightful ruler and the chief his vice-regent. Traditions vary as to the manner in which the vice-regency came into existence. In some cases, the god consigns the care of the kingdom to his chosen representative; in others, as in Mandi and Kulu, the Rája renounces his sovereignty in favour of the god; but whatever the tradition may be, the theocracy is clearly apparent, and is usually recognised in some outward form.

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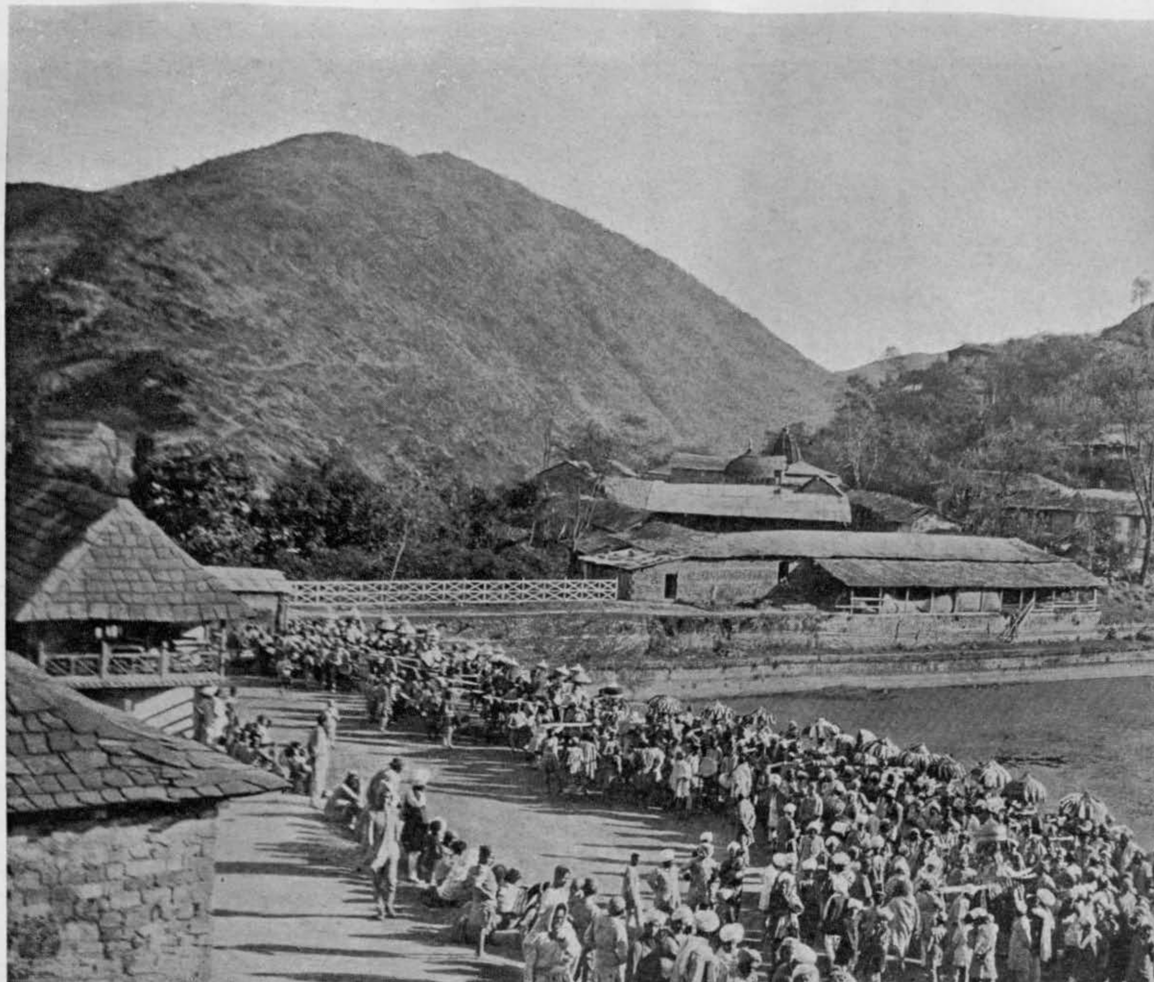
The theocratic nature of the sovereignty.

As noted in the account of Suraj Sen's reign, the national deity of Mandi is now regarded as Mádho Ráo, a manifestation of Vishnu to whom the Rája consigned his kingdom. There can, however, be little doubt that the Vishnavi form of religion was neither the ancient nor the popular faith of the Mandi dynasty. The ancestral god or *kulaj* is the *Devi;* and the worship of Shiva and his consort, except perhaps for a short period during Suraj Sen's lifetime, has always been far more observed than that of the more gentle member of the Hindu Trinity. Vishnuism, both here and in Kulu, appears to have come into temporary favour about the same time, and in both States was adopted as the State religion. But in Mandi the adoption has been very partial, and, for the most part, consists of the formal recognition of Mádho Ráo as the nominal head of the State. This is now shown in several ways of some interest.

The *Janam Ashtami,* or birthday of Krishna, is observed as a State celebration, the ceremonies taking place either in a room adjoining the temple of Mádho Ráo, or in the Damdama palace situated in the same building, immediately above the room where the god's image is enshrined. A small swing is hung from the rafters, an image of Krishna placed on the seat and flowers and rich cloth spread over it.

At midnight the Rája holds a durbár in the presence of the image at which all the leading State officials attend. A salute of 11 guns, the same as for the Rája, is fired in honour of the god. There is music and dancing and the Rája worships the god by throwing flowers on the image. A distribution of *pagrís,* all of which are yellow in colour, then takes place. The image is first decked and then the Rája with his own hand binds one on the head of the officiating priest who in turn twists one round the Rája's head. Others are given to the *ahlkárs* present according to their rank, the gifts being regarded as a special mark of favour. For this reason they are not given lavishly, for, as the local proverb says: "the value of *pagrís* given at the *Janam Ashtami* disappears if they are distributed in large numbers."

Again in all religious ceremonies of a personal nature relating to the Rája the worship of Mádho Ráo is an important and essential part. Only when his blessing has been invoked can they proceed and this is so, even when, as in the case of the hair-cutting ceremony, the main rites are performed in the presence of the family goddess. The Rája takes a prominent part in the celebration of public worship, in particular on the four great festivals of the year—the *Shivrátri,* the *Holi,* the *Dusehra* and the *Dípmála.* On each of these occasions he goes in procession, accompanied by officials of the State, the army and band, and his



The Shivratri Fair, Mandi.

Photo-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta. 1919

The theocratic nature of the sovereignty.

personal retainers. On the *Dusehra* and the *Holi* the image of Mádho Ráo is borne in the procession and immediately precedes the Chief. On the other two festivals, Mádho Ráo does not process if the Rája, his deputy, is himself present in the State to represent him; but if the Rája is absent he himself attends, and since the death of the late Rája has regularly taken part in the celebrations.

Of these, the most important is the *Shivrátri*, when the village gods are carried into Mandi to do homage to Mádho Ráo and the Rája. The fair lasts for some days; but it is a general rule that each god on arrival shall pay his respects to Mádho Ráo before he proceeds to the palace to salaam the ruler. On the second day of the fair, a parade of gods is held on the Pádal, the large open plain in the angle between the Beás and Suketi; the various deities– which number in all about 100 – are arranged according to precedence in line, along which the Rája with his officials passes to receive their homage. Mádho Ráo, as already noted, does not attend except when the Rája cannot act for him; but his absence is attributable to the fact that the fair is held on the great festival in honour of Shiva, a circumstance which supports the conclusion that the adoption of Vishnuism as the State religion is of comparatively recent date.

The gods, however, now admit the nominal suzerainty of Mádho Ráo, and the Rája both as his vice-regent and as temporal ruler exercises over them very definite jurisdiction. They are subject to his orders and must attend upon him when summoned. A new festival cannot be instituted without his permission, nor a god, who has previously been without a *rath* or litter, be given one without special sanction. A few years ago, the subjects of a village deity wished to change the shape of his idol, from the pyramidal form popular in some parts of the State to the form with the large circular canopy favoured by his immediate neighbours; but before they could do so the Rája's approval had to be obtained. Ordinarily, the Rája does not interfere in the appointment of the god's diviner, but his right to do so is recognised, and for the more important gods it is exercised. This is especially the case where the office of diviner is hereditary in a number of families and changes are accordingly numerous. Each change of office has to be reported for his sanction. Similarly, where the office is hereditary and the family becomes extinct, the Rája's orders must be obtained regarding the selection of a household from which future candidates are to be taken.

The Rája and the caste system.

Among the functions of the Rája which may be attributed to the recognition of his divinity may be mentioned his jurisdiction over caste. He enjoys the power of ordering ex-communication

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from caste and can similarly direct the restoration of an ex-communicated person to the brotherhood. In the latter case, after consultation of Brahmans versed in the *Shástras*, he prescribes the penances conditional on re-admission, and some of the rites are performed in his presence. Where the members of the caste are in agreement amongst themselves, the Rája does not ordinarily interfere ; but even then an outcast can, and often does, bring his case before the ruler. During the minority of a chief, such petitions are held in abeyance, and there is at present pending a reference of this description, in which a section of the Brahman community is divided in opinion as to whether a Brahman, whose father was outcasted for officiating at the domestic ceremonies of persons of a humble caste, should be re-admitted or not.

The oath on the Rája.

As a further example of the divinity of kingship a form of oath common in Mandi and throughout the hills may be mentioned. This is the *Rája ki darohi*, disobedience to which is regarded as treason. The Rájas frequently had resort to it as a means of constraining the actions of their subjects, and it is still employed both for official and private purposes. When pronounced publicly it provides a simple means of ensuring obedience to executive orders, and so certain village officers are invested with authority to use it. To give a very common example :—A headman of a village is called upon to supply a number of *begárís*, one of whom tries to shirk the obligation. "If you do not come," the headman warns him, "it will be *darohi*"—a sin against the Rája. In the vast majority of cases the man goes; but, if he still disobeys, he is fined for failing to observe the oath. Similarly in private disputes, two neighbours may have a quarrel about a plot of land, and one of them, anxious to plead possession, starts to plough the area in dispute. The other finding him on the land threatens him with *darohi*. "If you plough the field," he says, "before the case is settled by the judge, it will bethe oath of the Rája for Rs. 50." Should the oath be ignored, the culprit is liable to a fine of the specified amount. The expedient, though still used, is not so effective as it once was, the result largely of the introduction of a regular, and often less appropriate, procedure.

The Rája as owner of the soil.

The Rája as sole owner of the soil and the ruler and master of his subjects was clearly entitled to share in every source of profit enjoyed by his people, and the development of secular institutions is mainly a record of the means adopted to enforce his claims. The interest of the cultivator in the soil was derived by grant from the Rája, and, unless he had been conceded special privileges, it was confined to his right to enjoy the produce after payment of the share of the chief. Whether his possession had

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in practice originated or not from the issue of a royal title-deed did not signify; the theory of his tenure was the same. What the Rája's share was, depended on circumstances. In regard to land, it appears to have been rare in the Hill States for the State to take a specific share of either the gross or nett produce. An early form of assessment was a rateable levy in grain varying very roughly with the amount of land held and the means of the cultivator. An advance on this was the use of the seed measure which purported to grade the productivity of the soil according to the amount of the seed sown. The merit of this reform in Mandi is ascribed to Mián Juppu who lived in the 17th century, and he is also credited with the introduction of *begár* and cesses. But it is certain that *begár* existed long before Mián Juppu's day, and what he did was probably to transform the obligation from a personal one to one dependent on and varying with the possession of land. Tradition says that Mián Juppu made his grain assessment after elaborate crop experiments; but he appears also to have relied largely on popular estimates and hence retained the various seed measures in local use. These varied from village to village and in later times resulted in great confusion; but the grain assessment per unit imposed by Mián Juppu was, on the whole, a fair one. State granaries were established in suitable centres and the collections of grain concentrated there. Each granary had its own staff consisting usually of a storekeeper, treasurer, accountant, weighman and menial. After their needs had been satisfied, the balance was consigned to the capital, and in early times provided the chief source from which the Rája, his relatives, retainers, officials and servants were maintained. Later, the expenses of almost continuous warfare and the imposition of tribute by victorious enemies necessitated the partial substitution of a cash for a grain collection; but even then collections of kind were maintained in some of the most fertile tracts in order to provide for the needs of the palace and several State departments. The existence side by side of two distinct systems of assessment inevitably led to inequalities and these were accentuated by other defects and abuses which will be described in a later chapter.

The *begár* system.

By means of the system of *begár*, or unpaid labour, the theory of a partnership in all assets was logically extended to the physical powers of the people. The obligation of *begár* was part and parcel of the revenue system. Originally it was a personal obligation, but later was definitely associated with the possession of land. It represented the ruler's claim to personal services and was of three kinds :—

(1) *Phutkar begár*, consisting of trifling services rendered to he State such as the carriage of *dák*.

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(2) *Phánt begár*, consisting of services rendered to the State, such as the mending of village roads, which did not ordinarily occupy more than ten days. In this may be included what is popularly called *badi jadi begár*, *viz.*, services given on special occasions of rejoicing or mourning in the ruling family, and on the tours of high Government officials.

(3) *Pála begár*, which involved service in some department for a fixed period varying in different parts of the State from one to three months.

The last was by far the most important and burdensome form of *begár*. For many years it had been regarded as a burden attaching to the possession of land, and in theory its incidence varied with the area held. Up to recent times certain classes, however, were exempt from giving *pála begár*. These were the superior clans of Rájpúts, non-agricultural Brahmans, Khatrís and shopkeepers. The Rájpúts were expected to give military service instead, but, in return for this, they held assignments of land revenue known as *rozgárs;* Brahmans were expected to assist at State festivals, to work in the Rája's kitchen on special occasions and always to pray for the long life and prosperity of their Chief; Khatrís and other traders had to help with the distribution of supplies and preparation of accounts on occasions of State entertainment. But none of these obligations can be classed as *pála begár* and were rather of the nature of *phánt begár*.

State servants and their families were also exempt, this group containing a large number of village officers who escaped the burden by the performance of nominal services. Individuals were exempted either by favour or on payment of *nazarána*. In addition, *málguzárs* were sometimes allowed to commute the obligation into an annual cash payment known as *betlángna*, and some 16 years ago this principle was extended to the case of non-agriculturists who were themselves unable to give manual labour. Their old holdings, which had always been free from *begár*, were not assessed to *betlángna;* but all new acquisitions were made liable to the tax.

Such was briefly the theory of *pála begár;* the practice was far different. Under the system as it obtained immediately before its abolition, the rich and the strong escaped, the poor and the weak had to bear a double burden. Between different classes and between members of the same class, gross inequalities existed which entirely robbed the system of its original merits. To some extent the lack of uniformity was deliberate, for it was the policy of the State to take light *begár* and a heavy cash or grain revenue where the soil was fertile, and the converse where the surplus produce was small, but, even when allowance is

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made for this, the distribution was extremely unfair. The popular estimate of the system is well summed up in the two following proverbs:—"The sky loses its brightness when overcast with clouds, water its purity when covered with slime, a pretty wife her charm at her parents' home and a man his manliness in the Rája's *begár* service"; and "a *chamár* even at the point of death dreams of *begár*."

The severity of *begár* was tempered by making the family and not the individual the unit of conscription. Exemptions, absolute or temporary, were also given in the case of the aged, infirm and minors; but the burden was very heavy and one consequence was the maintenance of large joint families. The State indeed had to discourage partition in its own interests, in order to prevent the corvée unduly encroaching on production and so curtailing the resources of the land, on which the revenue mainly depended. In Saráj the result was to encourage polyandry; for several brothers naturally preferred to remain joint rather than to split up and so increase the aggregate assessment of *begár*, and, having decided on a joint establishment, there was strong inducement to have a wife in common, since the hill woman will rarely tolerate a rival in her home and is apt to make her menfolk rue the introduction of one.

The *begár* system, in short, although well suited to the conditions of the State when the requirements of the Rája and his court were moderate, the currency of money limited and the resources of the people slender, became economically and socially unsound as soon as other means of assessment were possible and the opportunities of the people to earn cash wages from outside labour were adequate.

Miscellaneous taxation.

The principle of claiming a share in all activities of the people resulted in a formidable roll of miscellaneous demands, partly of the nature of *begár* and partly in the form of a tax on profits. The menial classes had to supply articles of their handiwork. The iron-smelters gave ore, the Chamárs leather, the Dumnás baskets and ropes, and the Chanáls oil. Cultivators of special crops, such as tobacco and sugarcane, had to pay special cesses. Taxes were imposed on watermills and shops. Owners of herds and flocks had to give *ghi* and goats, respectively. Arbitrary demands were imposed as necessity required or opportunity offered. The people of Chuhár, for instance, had to pay *pálo ra ghi*, an exaction which originated in the presentation of a *nazar*; while in the hill tracts many persons had to give both unpaid service and the monetary value of its commutation, the result of a promise made by *Wazír* Gosáon, but never performed, to abolish *begár*.

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Thus the system of a division of all assets lost the merits which it undoubtedly possessed under a strong, if primitive, government supervised by the chief in person. Its weakness was its liability to abuse. It was incapable of easy revision and the Rájas generally preferred to leave matters as they were than to review an assessment which had become obsolete. This inaction favoured the rich and powerful as against the poor and weak. The former extended their land without paying more revenue; they were often able to evade *begár* and, where they could not evade it, they were generally successful in commuting it into a cash payment. The cultivation of the poor, on the other hand, remained much as it was, while a steady decline in the number who gave *begár* made the obligations more oppressive for the remainder. Additions to the roll of taxes involved more hands through which they had to pass, and the checks on exaction and peculation were generally quite inadequate. Much was lost on the way, the people being subject to the petty exactions of a number of subordinate officials. "For a dozen cucumbers," says one Mandi proverb, "there are eighteen tax-collectors. The Rája is blind and does not understand his real interests"; while another proverb describes the natural consequences—"The Rája's treasury is emptied as quickly as it is filled."

Popular risings.

The people were ordinarily patient and submissive under their burdens, their natural loyalty, as well as the feelings of veneration and affection with which they regarded their chief, acting as powerful checks on the open expression of discontent. When abuses transgressed their very liberal ideas of what was reasonable, they resorted to a *dum*, their almost infallible remedy for the redress of grievances. The *dum* is one manifestation of the democratic spirit found amongst the peasantry of the hills, and in several respects bears a resemblance to the modern forms of labour combination. Its effective weapon is the general strike, the malcontents attempting to achieve their objects by bringing the ordinary affairs of government to a standstill. A *dum* is not usually undertaken lightly, but when a decision has been reached its execution is prompt. A gathering is proclaimed by beat of drum and the rebels, or reformers as they regard themselves, collect together at some appointed spot which may be a temple, a hill, or a forest. There is, for instance, one god in Mandi Saráj who is the special patron of malcontents and his shrine has been the scene of many such gatherings. Laggards receive scant courtesy, the method of peaceful picketing being well understood and the crops of those who will not join the movement are often damaged. Sometimes more violent methods are taken. In the big *dum* of 1909, for instance,

Popular risings.

proclamation was made by beat of drum that all residents of Mandi city should join the rebel camp on penalty of having their houses burnt down. But usually the gathering is good-humoured and orderly. The members agree among themselves not to cultivate their fields, pay their revenue or obey orders until their grievances are redressed, and the compact is sometimes sealed with an oath. If satisfactory assurances of redress are given, they disperse to their homes; but otherwise they march on the capital and are then apt to take high-handed action against unpopular officials. But it is very rarely against the Rája that they rebel. Even in 1909, when the rising assumed serious proportions, it was remarked that "the leader and his followers have a curious idea that they are helping the Rája and that it is the proper function of the people to step in when things are going wrong; they do not think they have done wrong and point to the absence of looting or molesting of women." Similarly, the malcontents in their representations were careful to affirm that, although various State officials had oppressed them, the Rája had not, and they declared the matter to be a private affair between themselves and their ruler. "The King can do no wrong," is a statement which the hill man accepts literally, for he believes his Rája to be as much god as man. The faults of the administration are ascribed to the incompetence of his ministers, or the dishonesty of his officials; and when they become so glaring as no longer to be tolerated in silence, the people decide on a change of administration in the interest of the Rája as well as of themselves The *dum* is the only means the people possess for a collective expression of opinion; but it is an effective one and generally achieves its purpose. Where it is confined to what may be regarded as constitutional objects, namely a public demonstration of dissatisfaction with the methods of subordinates, it serves a useful purpose. In Mandi, however, there is always the danger of its being used by designing intriguers for their own ends.

Revenue assignments.

A study of the various forms of revenue assignment recognised by former Rájas affords information of some interest regarding the early organisation of government. Some of the *sánthas*, or title deeds, are inscribed on copper plates, but the great majority are written on Siálkoti paper. They are in the Tánkri script and the caligraphy is usually excellent, the art of executing title deeds having apparently been regarded as a high accomplishment by the *kaiths* or scribes. The language is stately and dignified, and although there is often much tautology, there is never any obscurity as to the terms of the grant. Archaic words are of frequent occurrence, and these, with the peculiar form of composition employed, make the detention of forgeries

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a comparatively easy matter. Each *sántha* was attested by the Rája from whom it issued; but he did not sign his name, the attestation consisting of the words, *sahih*, *sahih likhia*, or *sahih parmán*. In very rare cases, where the *sántha* relates to a religious grant, the title deed contains the impress of the Ràja's open hand in saffron and the grant is then always regarded as irrevocable. Similarly, on some of the copper plates the figure of a cow is carved to show the sacred character of the assignment. The name of the royal granter was entered in the body of the deed by the scribe, and in many instances the names of the chief officials present when the grant was conferred were also recorded. A copy of the deed was maintained amongst the State archives and the original preserved with the greatest care by the grantee and his descendants. Many deeds were undoubtedly destroyed in the earthquake of 1905; but there are several thousands in existence, some of great age but still in excellent preservation. Rough translations of a few typical grants are given below:—

Sásan bási grant. (Religious grant on condition of residence.)

"From the court of Sri Mahárája Shamsher Sen, King of Kings, of eternal ancestry—

Abha Rám Paháru has come before us and has petitioned us as that since many generations he and his ancestors have lived in the village of Mánbhali of the Tungal *wazíri*, that the said village was conferred on them revenue free, as a religious grant and on condition of residence therein, that accordingly from the date of the grant until the present day they have lived in the village and that they now occupy the land, that in the reign of Sri Rája Sidh Sen of noble memory, the grant was broken and the revenue thereof conferred on a servant of the palace. Falling at our feet he has prayed that, as our royal ancestors from time immemorial have looked with favour on him and his forefathers and have been pleased to regard them as serfs of the soil, so shall we now cherish him and his dependents and placing round their necks the sacred thread of our benevolence shall continue to them the grant made by our royal ancestors. When we had heard the prayer of Abha Rám, our noble son and heir, Surma Sen, made representation to us on their behalf declaring that from the days of his childhood they had spent their time in doing him service and he begged that, having regard to our love for him and the services they had given, we should bestow our favour on them.

"Let it be known therefore that we have conferred on Abha Rám the village of Mánbhali and the land therein without limit or boundary. As his forefathers enjoyed it in the past, so shall he enjoy it from the next spring harvest. Abha Rám shall dwell therein and shall render us faithful and loyal service. If any one shall trespass on the rights of Abha Rám he shall be deemed

false We have given the grant of our royal benevolence. Our children shall maintain it and the children of Abha Rám shall enjoy it.

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Sásan bási grant. (Religious grant on condition of residence.)

"Given in the presence of our heir-apparent the noble Surma Sen; of Prohit Deb Ditta, Bisht; and of Dharm Náth, Kotwál Let Bairági Rám, Bisht, take from Abha Rám the cesses which all pay, but let Abha Rám enjoy the revenue.

Written by the scribe Mánku on the 16th Hár Sambat 39."

A copper plate grant.

"On the 3rd day of Mágh of the Sambat year 1884, Rám Chandra and the Hindu faith being our witnesses, we have written this holy and auspicious title deed.

"From the Court of Sri Mahárája Zálim Sen, King of Kings, of eternal lineage –

"We have adopted as our son by the rites of the Hindu religion, the worthy Sahai, by caste a Brahman and by family a Lagwál. Of our bounty we have given him a title deed inscribed on a copper plate. With Shiva and Párvati as our witnesses we have granted to Sahai in perpetuity and as an act of merit, one house and 2 *khárs,* 4 *lákhs* of land. Sahai shall possess and enjoy the land, the revenue in cash and grain, the trees and bushes standing thereon and the house and the site thereof. All these shall he enjoy without limit or boundary, and he shall ever pray for our long life and welfare. We have given to Sahai all cesses of whatsoever kind, our right to free service, the tax on water-mills, the grazing fees on goats and the levy in kind on buffaloes. We have given also to Sahai our rights to service and cesses from all who dwell on the land, whether they be tillers of the soil or landless labourers.

"Our children shall faithfully observe this grant and the children of Sahai shall enjoy the land We have done this benevolence. We have given a deed on copper which shall remain for ever. We have relinquished our rights. If a Hindu intrude on the land, then he shall be accursed with the curse of the cow; if a Musalmán trespass then shall he be accursed with the curse of the pig. Let none intrude or trespass. We have gifted the land as our noble brother gifted it before us. Let the god Bhút Náth and the goddess Rájeshri devour the trespasser and intruder. We have written the deed as a supreme act of religion (*dharm dharmyán*)."

A *sásan* grant.

"From the court of Sri Rája Shamsher Sen, King of Kings, of eternal ancestry—

"The village of Sarwáhan was formerly held in *sásan* by the three Brahmans, Jogi, Nanda and Khuru. But in the days of Manohar Dhani Rám, words having arisen about the service

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they should render to us the land was taken back. So they killed themselves, Jogi died and his wife died also, and the others fled for refuge to Suket And after this their enmity fell upon us. So, having called before us the grandsons of Nanda and Jogi we have given in perpetuity the village of Sarwáhan as a religious gift. They shall enjoy it without boundary or limit and shall pray for our long life and prosperity. If any man harm them, he shall be a traitor to us, for the bones of the dead lie in the village, and so we have given the land. Given in the presence of Mián Dhur Jatia, 18th day of Asuj, Sambat 37."

Religious grant to a physician for services rendered.

"By order of the noble Mián Ishri Sen, heir-apparent. Let it be known that we have conferred one *khár* of land, revenue free, as an act of charity on Nand Bhárti, Gosáon. There was sore sickness amongst the ladies of the palace, but Nand Bhárti effected a speedy cure and for this service we have granted him the *sásan.* Nand Bhárti shall enjoy the produce thereof and shall ever pray for our health and welfare. Of the nine *khárs* of land contained in the village, Nand Bhárti shall receive 8 *lákhs* cultivated by Kansa Brahman ; 2 *lákhs* cultivated by Nantu, Koli ; and 10 *lákhs* cultivated by Dilu, Koli, and of such land he shall have rights of user over the trees, the roads and the drinking places for man and beast."

An *inám* for services rendered.

"By the command of Maháràja Súraj Sen, King of Kings, of eternal ancestry—

"Jálpu, *pálsra*, has made petition to us that as the noble Hari Sen conferred on him the village of Didnun, so may we also renew the grant. As our noble father gave him a title-deed, so do we now bestow on him a perpetual lease. We have given this village of Didnun to Jálpu, his family and dependents, sons and grandsons. So long as the sun and the moon, the sea and the Ganges remain, so long shall they enjoy the village. We remit also all *begár* service and cesses. Should a man commit a sin, nay even though he be guilty of murder, and take refuge in the village, he shall be pardoned. For Jálpu of his own accord has rendered us service of his merit, and has conquered for us part of the territory round Kamláh Fort. Should any man trespass in this village then if he be a Hindu let him be regarded as a Musalmán and if he be a Musalmán let him be regarded as a Hindu.

"Written on the 27th of the month of Sáwan in the year 11 Sambat."

Service grant.

"From the court of Sri Maháràja Balbír Sen, King of Kings, of eternal ancestry—

"Be it known that we have conferred on Sher Singh, son of Sodha, Guleria Rájput, a grant of land rent free in service tenure.

The area thereof is 4 *khárs,* 4 *lákhs* and the revenue assessed thereon is Rs. 80. The said Sher Singh shall enjoy the grant. Let him render true and loyal service and we, the Mahárája, will cherish and protect him. Let him commit treachery and he will reap the fruits of his deeds. He shall keep good and proper clothes and his five weapons[1] in readiness. On whatsoever service we, the Mahárája, shall send him there will he go and serve us faithfully and well. So shall he enjoy the land, the fruits and the revenue thereof, and the *begár* service appurtenant thereto."

An *inám* for services rendered.

Various kinds of grants.

Assignments of land revenue were of various kinds and given with different motives. The grant of small free-holds to menials and artisans on condition of unpaid labour, when called upon to give it, was a slight mitigation of the *begár* system. Grants for military service were held almost entirely by Rájpúts who, too proud to cultivate the land themselves, were content to engage hired servants, enjoy the produce without payment of revenue, and spend a large portion of their time in the congenial pursuit of fighting the Rája's neighbours. They were liable to be called up at any time, and had to appear armed and equipped at their own expense. They received a maintenence allowance but no pay, and it may be doubted whether the feudal levy was ever well disciplined. The establishment of law and order, on the assumption of suzerainty by the British Government, deprived the levy of its primary occupation; but few of the service grants were resumed, the assignees being required either to serve for a few months at intervals of several years in the army and other departments, or to attend the Rája's court when summoned The existence of a considerable body of Rájpúts living on their rent-free tenures and with much time on their hands was neither in the interest of the State nor of the grantees. Many of the service grants were therefore resumed at the recent Settlement.

Bási.

The *bási* or homestead grants were originally intended as an encouragement to settlement in portions of the State where the population was scanty, but the areas granted were usually small. Later they were given to favourites and sometimes in reward for distinguished service; but although the condition of residence on the grant was imposed it was rarely enforced.

Pál.

Pál or maintenance grants were of a private character and were given to deserving persons of straitened means for life, or for a fixed term.

Jágírs

Jágírs were confined to assignments in favour of members of the ruling family, being so regulated as to allow the Miáns to maintain their dignity without permitting them to obtain an undesirable amount of power. The continuance of the *jágír* was

[1] The five weapons were :—sword, shield, dagger, lance and musket

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dependent on the will of the Rája and in theory it was liable to reduction on the death of each holder. It has also been the custom of the Mandi Rájas to make provision for their Ránís and other female dependents by the grant of *jágírs* consisting mainly of land. These are administered by the ladies themselves through their own establishment, and are expected to cover all expenses of their households. Under the Rájas, however, the *jágírs* of the ladies in favour have always been supplemented by private gifts and allowances.

Ináms and muáfís.

Ináms and *muáfís* were conferred for special services, either military or civil. They were given sometimes in perpetuity and sometimes without any specification of time; but past Rájas have generally maintained the grants of their predecessors where the services were of unusual merit.

Religious assignments.

The religious assignments are in several respects the most interesting, both because of their variety and the light they throw on the influence of the Brahmans. The endowments of the village gods present the features commonly found in the hills. The deity is the *málguzár* as well as the assignee, and his tenants either pay rent into his treasury or cultivate the land on condition of service. The great majority of the gods are land-holders and several of them hold assignments of considerable value granted either in recognition of their importance, or as a reward for a supposed miracle. The grants in favour of orthodox temples, most of which are situated in Mandi town, are in the hands of *pujárís*, and in the past sufficient care has not been taken to ensure their proper use. The management of the State temples is in charge of the Department of *Dharmarath*—religion and charity—which administers the endowments. The Department is associated with the national god, Mádho Ráo, who has himself a large assignment.

Religious assignments or *sásans* are sometimes held by persons not of a priestly caste. They then owe their name either to the nature of the gift or the purpose it was designed to achieve. In the first class are included acts of charity performed on the Rája's birthday or some other auspicious occasion, such as the marriage of a Rájpút's daughter at the Rája's expense and bestowal of a dowry in land for the support of her husband and their children. Of the second class, are gifts made to avert an evil influence, a characteristic example of which may be cited. One of the Rájas had several members of a Rájpút family murdered and was haunted by the spirits of his victims In order to placate them he set up their images endowing them with a grant of land, which is still held by the descendants of the Rájpúts on condition of service at the shrine.

Religious assignments.

The majority of *sásans*, however, are held by Brahmans, most of whom perform priestly functions only, but some of whom also engage in agriculture. The grants are almost invariably in perpetuity, and some are *siumparmán*—without limit or boundary. There are several villages in which the Rájas would not take even a drink of water lest they should incur guilt by enjoying what they had gifted irrevocably. There is for example a tale told of one Rája who, when on tour in one of these villages, inadvertently ate the fruit of the wild peach. He was soon attacked by violent pain, and relief was afforded only when the forbidden fruit was evacuated and his teeth cleansed of the morsels which had clung to them. The tree from which he had plucked the fruit withered from that day ; but the Brahmans obtained an addition to their grant. Again, a gift to a Brahman is an efficacious means of removing an impending or actual evil. A cow was killed by accident near the palace and a Brahman got a gift of rent-free land. A priest and his wife, offended because they were asked to do some unusual service, committed suicide out of spite ; their shades haunted the Rája, who had to beg their relatives to settle in the State and accept, at his hands, the gift of a whole village free of revenue. The preparation of a *mantra*, if it proved successful, was often followed by the conferment of a *sásan*, and, since the Brahman was the chief diagnoser of ailments, his opportunities for acquiring grants were many and were rarely wasted.

More numerous were grants of a genuinely religious origin, bestowed with the object of acquiring merit. No pilgrimage was complete without the conferment of land on a Brahman, and both residents of the State and priests at the famous places of Hindu pilgrimage hold land obtained in this way. The celebration of the marriage of a Brahman girl was a common act of charity, accompanied by the allotment of land for her husband's support. The performance of domestic ceremonies was often accompanied by a grant to the officiating priest, and on the important public festivals the bestowal of *sásans* was sometimes made. In one case, as the *sántha* reproduced on page 72 shows, the Rája actually adopted a Brahman as his *dharmputr*, or son according to religious rites. Brahman physicians, astrologers and professors of white magic were given revenue-free assignments either in perpetuity or on condition of service. Many obtained land simply because they were Brahmans.

Nor have the Brahmans of Mandi depended solely on the piety and superstition of the Rájas. Many of their *sánthas* are derived from Miáns and other members of the ruling family who conferred grants out of their own *jágírs*, the ladies of the *harmsarai*, in particular, being open to Brahmanic influence.

CHAP. I. C.
History.
Religious assignments.

Unfortunately, the *sásans* were not always used for the purpose for which they were given. No bar on their alienation was imposed, and hence the more powerful grantees added to their own grants by purchases and mortgages from their poorer caste-fellows. Thus, although there are very few Brahman families which do not hold some land rent-free, the large grants have tended to gravitate into a few hands. This tendency was encouraged by the influence wielded by those Brahmans who for one cause or another were in close touch with palace affairs. They supplied the instructors of the Rájas and their heirs, acted as spiritual advisers and were selected as confidential servants When occasion offered they pandered to and encouraged the failings of their masters. They often had great power though they did not make an open display of it, preferring to exercise it by palace intrigues rather than by the assumption of political office. The Brahmans of Mandi who have served as *Wazír* have, indeed, been few; but the smallness of their number is no index to the authority which the priestly community has always possessed. Nor, with a few honourable exceptions, can it be said that they have used it for the benefit of the State. Where the Khatrís as a class obtained a strong position by their superior education, undoubted ability and unprincipled astuteness, the Brahmans won theirs by personal influence, palace intrigue and religious pressure. But, in both communities, there have been men who served the Rájas faithfully and honestly.

SECTION D.- Population.

CHAP. I. D.

Population

Statistics.

The figures for population are those of the census of 1911, for although an enumeration was made in connection with the Land Settlement, the returns are not absolutely reliable, and it is, in any case, convenient to retain the decade as the unit for comparison.

Total population and density.

The figures noted below show the changes in population during the past thirty years:—

Year.	*Population.*
1881	147,017
1891	166,923
1901	174,045
1911	181,110

Between 1881 and 1891 the recorded increase was 13·8 per cent., but this was more apparent than real, for there were special causes which reduced the returns of the first year and inflated those of the second. In the next decade there was a genuine rise of 4·2 per cent. and between 1901 and 1911 an increase of 4 per cent. Expansion has not been so rapid as the latent resources of the State would justify, for there is plenty of scope for development The causes which have militated against progress have been the system of *begár*, the absence of a regular land revenue system and the imposition of miscellaneous, and often arbitrary, demands. With the removal of these defects a substantial increase of population should occur. The pressure on the soil is not particularly severe. The density per square mile of area is 151, but in a hill tract the true criterion is afforded by the density per square mile of cultivation This is 820 and compares favourably with 1,050, the figure for the neighbouring tract of Kulu. The variations between the assessment circles are given below :—

Pahári 712, Darmiáni 712, Western 872, Harabágh 824, Maidáni 730.

Urban and rural population.

The capital with a population of 7,896 is the only town in the State, and villages containing more than 1,000 persons are very rare. The statistics in Part B relating to the distribution of population are misleading, owing to the fact that the cluster of villages and not the single village was taken as the rural unit. A more accurate test is furnished by the grouping of estates at Settlement. The total number of these was 3,857 and the average population 47.

Many of these so-called villages are mere hamlets containing less than one hundred souls, and this is especially so in the hills where a few houses are often found in outlying cultivation several miles from the main village. These are occupied for a portion

CHAP. I. D.

Population.

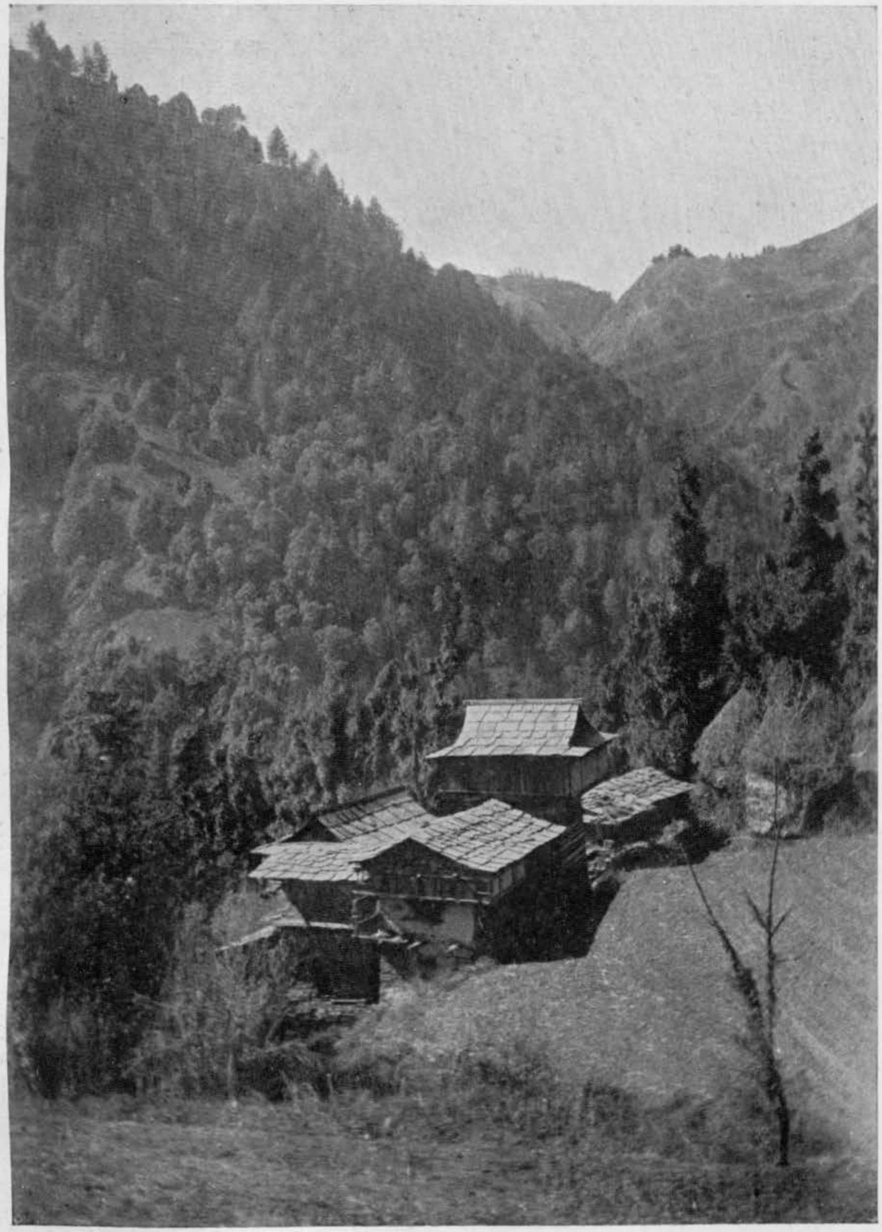
Types of village.

of the year only and during the winter months are untenanted.

The types of village vary considerably.

In the upper hills, except in the outlying *dogrís*, the houses are tightly packed together on a site chosen either for its proximity to water or because of its negligible value as arable land. Villages are rarely built on land capable of cultivation Many are situated on rocky spurs above the main cultivation, and, where the site available is insufficient to allow of extension as the population increases, the individual peasant builds a second house on a worthless plot of land as close to his fields as possible. There is no sanitation, and the care with which manure is preserved adds to the dirt and smell of the habitations. But the hillman is very particular about segregating the villagers of low caste, who are required to live either below the main site, or at a considerable distance on either side of it. The house of the average hill Kanet is substantially built and reasonably commodious, although the number of storeys is usually less than in the Upper Sutlej Valley. It is built mainly of timber, but the outer walls consist of dry masonry interspaced with massive beams at narrow intervals. Wherever procurable, deodar is used ; but the Forest Department has now placed restrictions on its free employment although it still furnishes timber of this kind for the doors and windows whenever possible The roof is either slated or of shingles, and most houses contain a balcony on the third storey which in case of need can be divided off into living compartments. The ground floor is given up to the cattle and sometimes the sheep and goats are housed above these again. A granary is found in the houses of the well-to-do, and, owing to the late dates at which the spring crops are harvested, sufficient accommodation either in the form of balconies or small sheds has to be provided for the storage of the unthreshed wheat or barley. For the same reason, the threshing floor adjoins the dwelling and is flagged, thus enabling the husbandman to take prompt advantage of even a short break in the rains.

In the lower portions of the State the villages are more scattered and the accommodation of the individual landholder less compact. Many of the houses are single-storey and it is unusual to see any of more than two storeys. The cattle sheds are separate from the main block and the threshing floors are usually outside the courtyard, being often made from year to year at suitable places in the fields. Slate roofs are growing in popularity, but the poorer classes have still to depend on thatch. In the Western and Harabágh Circles, where the forests are not abundant, timber is used sparingly, but that available is put to the most economical use. The walls are either of mud or of unbaked brick, only the prosperous being able to afford dry masonry.



A typical hill village.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

They are newly plastered inside and out at least once during the year, and are often decorated with rough designs of men and animals. Generally, the lower villages with the scattered farm houses standing on their own lands present a picture of neatness and prosperity which the more substantial structures of the hills fail to convey.

CHAP. I. D. Population. Types of village.

Migration.

The census figures do not give an accurate idea of the extent and nature of migration. For the most part this is of a temporary character. The immigrants are mainly of two classes—traders and carriers passing through the State, and Budhist pilgrims to the sacred lake of Riwálsar. Permanent settlers are few and consist of the most part of shop-keepers from Kángra and Hoshiárpur who have built small shops on the main roads. Emigration is large, but this again is mostly for short periods only. There is a large annual efflux of sawyers, carriers and floaters to the forests of the Punjab Himalayas, and a moderate flow of coolies, chaprasis and rickshaw-men to Simla and other hill stations A few take up permanent employment, but the vast majority return to their homes after an absence of a few months.

Sex and marriage statistics.

There is a slight excess of males over females, the proportion being 52 to 48; and this is in spite of the fact that more girls than boys are born. Female infanticide undoubtedly prevailed on a considerable scale up to comparatively recent times among the higher clans of Rájpúts and certain of the urban classes, and rumour says that even now it is by no means unknown. But, if it exists, it is on too small a scale seriously to affect the distribution of the sexes, and the causes of the greater female mortality are the comparative neglect of girls and the prevalence in Mandi town of respiratory diseases among the women. The statistics relating to marriage are of some interest. Of the total population 43 per cent. are single, 46 per cent. are married and 11 per cent. are widowed. Married women are in excess of married men, but the difference is not large and polygamy exists only to a slight extent. The number of widows is unusually large, being considerably more than one-third of the total number of wives; but among the cultivating classes it is certain that many of these are widows only in name, and that they have been so recorded simply because their cohabitation with the brothers or male heirs of their deceased husbands, though sanctioned by custom and conferring full rights of inheritance on any issue there may be, is not preceded by any form of marriage ceremony. Except among the Rájpúts and other superior castes there are few chaste widows in Mandi. Early marriages are rare, and among boys of less than ten years of age are almost negligible; even among girls they are confined to the higher classes. Between 10 and 15 years of age husbands are still few, but the number of girls then married

CHAP. I. D.
Population.
Sex and marriage statistics.

is considerable, though little more than one-third of the whole. There are, however, few unmarried women of more than twenty years of age and practically none who remain for life without husbands. With men it is different; for a considerable proportion cannot afford to marry until they are well over twenty, while the number who have to wait for a wife until they reach middle age is appreciable, and is probably on the increase, owing to the steady rise which is taking place in the price of marriageable girls.

Tribal distribution.

The whole population, with trifling exceptions, is Hindu, the distribution between the various tribes being as follows :—

	Tribes.			*Total.*	*Percentage.*
	Rájpúts	...	...	7,272	4
	Brahmans	...	...	18,915	10
	Khatrís	...	...	3,067	2
	Ráthis	...	...	1,126	·6
	Kanets	...	...	84,388	47
	Kumhárs	...	...	1,795	1
	Tháwíns and Rájs	...	...	1,425	1
Menial castes.	Lohárs	...		3,468	2
	Chamárs	...	...	11,855	6
	Chanáls	...	...	1,484	·84
	Dágís and Kolís	...	...	15,860	9
	Dhaugrís	...	...	1,148	·6
	Dúmnás	...	...	10,742	6
	Juláhás	...		5,088	3
	Gujars	...	...	2,154	1
	Others	...	...	11,323	6
	Total	...	...	181,110	100

The Muhammadan element is very small and consists partly of a colony of Patháns who have been settled in the State for many years and partly of Gujars from Kángra who have entered the State as graziers and have either continued as such or have settled down to agriculture. Both groups are in poor circumstances.

Rájpúts.

There are many families of Rájpúts in the State who claim to be descended from junior branches of the ruling house, and are generally recognised as such by being referred to officially as Miáns. The near relations of the Rája hold substantial *jágírs*, and most of the remainder enjoy service grants of one kind or another varying in amount according to their position. The Miáns are generally proud and impoverished, and not a few of them are hardly above the status of well-born *zamíndárs*.

The Rájpúts of the first order are the following:—Mandiál, Katoch, Guleria, Sonkhla, Hathiál Pathhánia, Jámwália, Jaswália, Bhangália, Sibaya, Drol, Saroch. The Katoch, Guleria, Jaswál,

Sibaya, and Saroch have a common *got*, being descended from one and the same progenitor.

Rájpúts.

Jai Deya or 'Hail to the King' is the common salutation among Rájpúts of the first class. They receive this salutation from a Rájpút of a lower class, but do not return it to an inferior and they reply to Rájpúts of the inferior class by *jai* only. In order to maintain the dignity and prestige of their rank, they must never drive a plough, never give their daughters in marriage to those inferior to them, although they may receive wives from the class next to them, and the females of their households must observe strict seclusion. Rájpúts of the same *ál* or clan do not intermarry, although they sometimes disregard the prohibition against marriage within the *got* They marry freely in the mother's clan, and sometimes also marry in their own *got*. Widow re-marriage is strictly prohibited among all the classes.

Except among the highest clans the prejudice against agriculture is declining as a result of economic pressure, and owing to the resumption of many of the service grants the process is likely to be accelerated. Some take up military service in the Indian Army, while all are keen to obtain employment in the State Army or Police ; but there are many who do little work of any description, and as a class they are proud and extravagant, prone to intrigue and inclined to be turbulent ; but individually they are pleasant to deal with.

The following are the *halbai* or cultivating tribes or *áls* of the Rájpúts :—Dhayána, Pingliyána, Patiyál, Mahle, Jamswál Khawás, Mhotlu, Dharwál, Ráwat Naryál, Ranot, Katoghni. They give their daughters in marriage to the higher classes, but never receive wives from them.

They take kindly to military service, are more enterprising than the higher clans, and are very fair cultivators ; but they are litigious and quarrelsome among themselves.

Brahmans.

The Brahmans are a powerful community in Mandi and appear to be steadily on the increase. There are three groups of Brahmans. The Prohit, Pandit, Tanait, Upádhaya, Lagwál and Dichhat form the first class. The Austi, Chhajwán, Ror, Siyát, Khaliyát and 20 others come within the second circle. These two groups avoid agriculture and do not cultivate land themselves.

The *halbai* or agricultural Brahmans form the third group. The chief of them are the Batáhnun, Sarwánun, Katwál, Jamnauni, Harliáni, Bhatehru, Ladwál, Kahlúriya, Nadde, Chináhlu, Barwál, Asklu, Upáde.

Brahmans of the first group are religious guides, astrologers, ministrants in temples or family priests, and as such are

CHAP. I. D. — Population. — Brahmans.

respected by all classes. They intermarry, as a rule, only within their own group, but sometimes accept wives from the group next below them ; they never give daughters in marriage to those that rank low in the circle. These are the following :—Rinru, Marthwál, Malhwál, Laudmár, Madhogar, Kamláhu Pádhe, Parswál, Dári ke Pádhe, Kas ke pádhe, Chebri, Satsáo, Drangwál, Gumwál, Kotbhát, Jáu, Dhapotu.

The non-agriculturist Brahmans are mostly residents of Mandi town, though there are several large villages held free of revenue by members of the tribe who take no active part in agricultural operations. The city Brahmans have two main sources of income, the revenue from their rent-free tenures and the fees obtained either from the State or private clients for the performance of religious and domestic ceremonies. They receive the former almost entirely in fixed grain rents, the amount being independent of the nature of the harvest, and they have therefore no interest in the improvement of their lands. The majority are absentee landlords of a poor type ; they never go near their villages and are on very unfriendly terms with their tenants about whose circumstances they know little and care less. With few exceptions they are degenerate priests, of doubtful morals and with a low standard of honesty. Many of them are grasping, unscrupulous and intriguing ; religion they use as a cloak for their own ends and are strongly opposed to any reforms which are likely to weaken their influence or affect their privileges.

The agricultural Brahmans are less sophisticated and more pleasant to deal with. Though mainly dependent on their lands, many act as family priests, and in the hill circle they often hold the office of *pujári* at the village temples, and sometimes Brahmans are found as diviners. They are fair cultivators, and generally of greater enterprise than their fellow-tribesmen in the city.

Khatrís.

The Khatrís of Mandi are all socially equal, but they observe clan distinctions. The following are the main sub divisions of the tribe :—Lamkiyáru, Káyath, Káyath Kalru, Drangwál, Baid, Bisájhu, Ror, Saigal, Kamiána, Hatwálu, Paháru, Kahlúria, Jukhwáha, Dhon, Bhangália, Maheru. Hád, Pajiáli, and Naryál. They intermarry among themselves, but do not marry in the same *ál* or clan. Cases of cohabitation with women of other tribes are not infrequent, but the issue are treated as *sartoras* or illegitimate and are entitled to maintenance only. The Mandi Khatrís are of mixed descent, Káyasthas of Hindustán and Khatrís of the Punjab having intermingled There are some Káyath Khatrís who trace their origin from the Bhatnágar Káyath to Lucknow and

Oudh. Some of them entered the State as merchants and shopkeepers at the invitation of the Rájas and by their acumen and astuteness soon attained to a position of influence.

The power of the Khatrís is out of all proportion to their number. Although they constitute rather less than 2 per cent. of the total population, they hold 12 per cent. of the cultivated area and this comprises a great deal of the best land in the State. The methods by which they have acquired influence are various, but it is owing to them to recognise that their progress has been partly due to their ability, enterprise and energy. The average Khatri is quick-witted, tenacious of purpose and progressive. But he is unscruplous, avaricious and unworthy of trust. Behind a veil of repugnant obsequiousness he strives to conceal his total disregard for any moral principle which is likely to interfere with his advancement or profit. He is fond of intrigue if it is likely to be advantageous, but he will not hesitate to give his companions away if this will serve his ends better. Collectively, the Khatrís present a solid front, strenuously resisting any proposal which may prejudice their position ; among themselves they are vindictive and jealous, and often carry on feuds in the Law Courts until both parties are brought to ruin

They have been for years the money-lenders, accountants, clerks and court officials of the State, and since in the same family there may be different members each filling one of these offices, it is not difficult to realise the power they have wielded over all classes of the population, except perhaps the Brahmans. Fraud, corruption and chicanery have been their favourite weapons, and the chief victims have been the agriculturists who hate almost as much as they fear them. As landlords they often show enterprise, and, unlike the Brahmans, are intimately acquainted with their holdings ; but they are inconsiderate to their tenants and formerly were in the habit of putting their tenancies up to auction. There are, however, notable exceptions, some Khatri *málguzárs* treating their tenants with consideration and giving them material assistance in bad seasons.

The mental alertness and superior education of the Khatrís resulted in their obtaining a predominating influence in the State and their tribal solidarity always made it difficult for the Rájas to bring them under effective control. Much of the mal-administration in the past is attributable to the fact that they were allowed to usurp functions to which they were not entitled. As a tribe, they possess gifts of an unusually high order and the best type of Khatrí, who does not pervert them to illegitimate ends, is a man entitled to respect and consideration. Both inside and outside the service of the State there are Khatrís with an unblemished record for loyalty and integrity.

CHAP. I. D.
Population.
Bohrás.

The Bohrás of Mandi are the same as the Mahájans of Kángra, and belong to the Vaisya caste of the Puranic period. The chief of them are :—Kandholar or Baid, Dhurkhru, Toppar, Gagotu, Kole, Chane, Gatuhe, Mahte, Choghal, Dharwál, Chital, Káyath, Suketru, Katochu, Jabothu, Chowdhri, Kachru, Dogre, Chhotu, and Baidu. They are mostly of the Mangal *got*. They intermarry among themselves without distinction, although they do not marry in their own clan. They intermarry with the Mahájans of Kángra, and the Bohrás of Suket and Biláspur State. Some of them do not marry in the mother's *got* for five generations. They take money for the marriage of daughters and also effect marriages by exchange or *batta satta*, but they never permit widow re-marriage, nor is an illegitimate son, or *sartora*, married to a Bohra girl of pure blood. They wear a *janeo* of 96 threads and are generally shop-keepers, traders, bankers and clerks. They are a very quiet race and not influential members of society in Mandi, although the Bohrás of Suket once held some very important and influential posts and had a high position in the State.

Ráthís.

The Ráthís are found mainly in the Western and Harabágh Circles. Their origin has been the subject of much discussion, the popular theory regarding them as an amalgamation of the castes above and below them. But, as Dr. Hutchinson observes in the Chamba Gazetteer, it seems hardly possible that such a large community can have come into existence wholly in this way, for the Rájpúts and Brahmans, to whom their ancestry on the male side is attributed, represent only a relatively small proportion of the population of the hills. That the tribe was reinforced from the issue of connections between Rájpúts and Brahmans on the one hand, and Kanet women on the other, is extremely probable ; but such successions are insufficient to account for the formation of a large tribe. Again, there is at the present time a well-marked tendency for Kanets of the lower hills to describe themselves as Ráthís, and since there is no reason to suppose that this is a modern development it is likely that the tribe contains a strong admixture of Kanet blood. The original Ráthís were certainly earlier invaders of the hills than the Brahmans and Rájpúts, but there is some reason to believe that they were later than the Kanets, although probably of a tribe closely akin to them.

The Ráthís of Mandi are enterprising and industrious, but quarrelsome and litigious. They provide recruits to the Indian Army and have social ambitions, but very rarely allow these to interfere with their material interests.

Kanets.

So much has been written regarding the origin of the Kanets and so many diverse theories held in regard to them that

considerations of space preclude a discussion of the literature on the subject. The views of the present compiler formed after considerable study of their traditions, customs and religion may be stated briefly as follows :—

The Kanets were, in all probability, among the earliest, if they were not the earliest, Aryan invaders of the Himalayas and perhaps of India. They were worshippers of nature and especially of the serpent as the symbol of the river, and the present day Kanets represent the descendants of one or more of the tribes designated as *Nágas* in ancient literature. They appear to have come from beyond the Hindu Kush and to have settled in Kashmír at a very remote period. The general movement was from west to east, but a long period elapsed before it was complete. The migration was discontinuous. There was no over-spreading of the Western Himalayas by a vast horde of armed invaders unaccompanied by their women-folk. Progress was gradual, and, in the later stages at least, successive valleys were occupied either by new bands or by off-shoots from existing colonists who found their holdings inadequate to sustain their needs. On the seizure of a valley by a particular band the cultivated area was divided among the members of the party, special regard being paid to the low-lying irrigated lands. Whereas a hill hamlet would be granted to a few families as their own holding, the irrigated area was divided amongst all, and thus, to the present day, villages situated as far as ten miles distant from the most fertile land in the valley possess their appropriate share of it. The aboriginal population was brought under subjection and reduced to the position of serfs. There was no distinction of caste in its modern sense. Society was constituted on a theocratic basis with a very strong democratic element. The head of a group was the family or ancestral god, whose commands were conveyed through a human mouthpiece or diviner. Ordinarily, the subjects of the deity were equal among themselves, and if at this stage—which is doubtful—there was a tribal or group leader he was regarded as the deputy of the god. The family deity provided the bond of union between all subjects acknowledging his jurisdiction, and when, as often happened, a party broke away from the parent settlement, taking with it an emblem of the deity, this in time was regarded as a separate divinity ; but the memory of a common origin was preserved in the fiction of a relationship between the two gods and in the attendance of each with his followers at the festivals of the other. The communal feast was the chief event of social and religious interest and was of a sacramental character. Human sacrifice was common and the victim was originally a member of the community. Internal disputes were settled by a reference to the god, one or other of the various

CHAP. I. D. — Population. — Kanets.

means of divination being adopted. But the people were very careful not to allow the priests or diviners of the gods to usurp powers, and they kept the management of religious affairs in their own hands. The Kanets, in spite of their intensely superstitious nature, have never been priest-ridden. Even when the influence of the Brahmans penetrated to the hills, they excluded them from any position of real power. Nowadays, a village Brahman may officiate at the temple of a Kanet community; but he has little voice in the administration of its business. It was probably this hostility to the acceptance of the Brahman as the proper and only medium between themselves and the gods which led to the Kanets being regarded with contempt and aversion by later Aryans. If the name be derived from *ku* and *nitya*, meaning a man of bad customs, then it was applied, not because the Kanets had fallen from orthodoxy, but because they refused to renounce their ancient usages in favour of Brahmanical practices. For there is no doubt that the present-day observances of the hill people are of a more primitive character than those followed by Hindus in general.

How the Kanets came under political leadership is obscure. In a few cases there is reason to believe that a family obtained power owing to the character of its religious functions; and many of the Thákurs and some of the Ránás were probably Kanets by origin who stood in a particularly close relationship to the god. But others, and probably the majority, were outsiders whose invasions intervened between the settlement of the Kanets and the advent of the Rájpúts. Whatever their origin may have been, they came to be regarded as the representatives of the territorial gods and carefully maintained the theocratic basis of Kanet institutions. Nor were they able to crush the democratic instincts of the people over whom they ruled. The communal form of worship lent itself readily to combination for political purposes and the development of the *dum*—of which a description has already been given—enabled the Kanets to retain some measure of control over the actions of their rulers.

It is probable that the early Aryan invaders of the hills were composed of different tribes, and some writers have attempted to identify various sections of the people with races mentioned in ancient literature. The present division of the Kanets into Khas, Ráhu and Kurán (the last of whom are found in Bushahr) appears to be based on religious rather than tribal grounds, the status declining according to the extent to which primitive customs were preserved. In no case was there complete acceptance of Brahmanical principles and the Kurán rejected them almost in their entirety. The Khas, however, acknowledged the power of the Brahmans to a limited extent and so became

entitled to wear the sacred thread. In Mandi, for instance, the Kanets of the lower hills claim to be Khas, wear the *janeo*, have formed *gots* of their own and are governed by the ordinary rules of marriage within the Khas group and outside the family clan. But the true Kanets of the high lands do not assume the sacred thread, are unable even to say whether they are Khas or Ráhu, have no internal *got*, and the only restriction on marriage is that one alliance only should be contracted between the same two families, the people relying on memory alone in deciding whether a previous marriage has occurred.

The question as to how far there was a fusion between the Aryan invaders of the hills and the indigenous population is a difficult one. Most writers assume that inter-marriage, or more properly speaking the appropriation of the women of the conquered by the conquerors, prevailed to a considerable extent; but there is reason to believe that it was less than in the plains, and that it did not continue for a long period. The myths still current leave no room for doubt that the invasion of the hills proceeded in very easy stages, and this being so it appears to be a safe assumption that each move forward was accompanied by the migration of women and children as well as of men. There may have been a deficiency of females, but it could hardly have been so marked as to necessitate inter-marriage on a large scale. Admixture with the aboriginal population is grossly repugnant to the present instincts of the Kanets, and so strong is the prejudice that it is difficult to believe that the issue of mixed marriages were freely admitted into the tribe. The Dúmnas, Kolís and other menial tribes have always been the servants of the Kanets, and in portions of the hills their status is still little higher than that of slaves. In Bushahr, they are not allowed to wear ornaments of gold nor a certain form of dress nor to build curved roofs on their houses. If a Koli had illicit relations with a Kanet woman, the punishment, up to comparatively recent times, was death. In Mandi they were similarly forbidden to wear gold, fine clothes and even the hill jonquils in their caps. There are several *wazírís* in Mandi in which Kolís, etc., are not only excluded from the houses of Kanets, but are not permitted to come within a certain distance of them. Each house has an imaginary boundary-line around it, well known to the low caste people of the neighbourhood, and for a menial to step across it brings defilement. If a cow dies inside the compound the Kanet himself removes the carcass. He strips naked and after the body has been removed performs ceremonial ablutions. More than this, if a Koli even throws a stone from outside the boundary-line so that it falls within it, the Kanet will throw away his metal cooking vessels. The touch of a low caste

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man carries defilement and the clothes have to be washed at once. An intrigue with a Koli woman involves exclusion from the brotherhood, and this is the rule, so far as I know, throughout the hills, although in some parts secret intrigues of this kind occasionally occur. These restrictions clearly have their origin in a deep-seated desire to preserve the purity of the race. They appear to be older than the modern system of caste, and they owe little, if anything, to Brahmanical influence; for, in the particular *wazíris* mentioned, the customs of the Kanets have been preserved in a very primitive form. They would seem to show that such admixture as occurred was kept within comparatively narrow limits and that intermarriage was abandoned at a very early period.

So much for the origin of the Kanets. They are at present by far the most important agricultural tribe, and hold 40 per cent. of the cultivated area. Those of the three lower Circles are more careful cultivators than those of the hills, but they are less simple, more addicted to drink and more litigious. Few, however, are regular drinkers, intemperance being generally confined to religious and domestic festivals. But religion is not the drain on the people that it is in the Pahári and Darmiáni Circles, and the floating debt is not large for an agricultural tribe. The Kanets of the hills are moderately good cultivators only, but they are thrifty, except on the occasion of important religious fairs. They are truthful, loyal and law abiding and the majority do not drink. They are intensely superstitious, very sensitive to sarcasm and censure, but have a keen sense of humour and their confidence is easily gained by any one who interests himself in their customs and respects their prejudices. Throughout the State the Kanets do not take kindly to military or ordinary State service, but those of certain *wazíris* occupy positions of trust in the palace and *harm sarái*. They engage in all kinds of forest work and go far afield to obtain employment. From the lower Circles regular gangs of floaters, sawyers and carriers go to Kashmír, Jammu and Chamba; from the hills they go to Kulu, Bushahr, Tehri Garhwál and other Native States. Many take service in Simla and Kasauli either as chaprasis and peons or as rickshaw coolies, while a number work as casual labourers on roads and other public works. The outside earnings are thus large, and owing to the abolition of *begár*, which affects the Kanets more than any other tribe, will steadily increase. The women do all forms of field labour except ploughing and so release most of the able-bodied men for outside work; but in each family there is always at least one male who stays at home, does the more arduous work and assists in the lighter operations.

Kumhárs.

The village Kumhárs of Mandi are almost certainly Kanets who have adopted the profession of potters. Since they work in

earth, they are not regarded as impure and Kanets will eat, drink and smoke with them.

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Population.

Kumhárs.

Their tribes are :—Slahe, Ganjhe, Chaplaiya, Brahim Bazarya, and Anot. They do not intermarry within their own *got*. Ganpati worship is performed at the house of the bride's father and the marriage is then celebrated.

Gujars.

The Gujars in these hills are exclusively a pastoral tribe, and scarcely cultivate at all. They keep herds of buffaloes and live on the sale of the milk, *ghi*, and butter. There are some Hindu Gujars in Mandi. They are of the following tribes :—Khatána, Chohán, Gursi, Didhar, Bhumbhale, Katarya, Parswál, Malheria, Koli, Kantiya, Motle Chaichi, Bhunch, Bargat, Kalas, Chhore, Ladi Chai, Bajar and Badhana. They intermarry among themselves, and marry a girl when she attains the age of puberty. Betrothal is settled by drinking liquor at the house of the bride's father. They may marry a Lohár or a Náí girl, their inferior in rank, but they do not give daughters to an inferior caste. The widow of a deceased brother is claimed by the remaining ones. Widow re-marriage is also practised, the *jhanjhrára* rites being performed.

Many of them reverence *Lakh Dáta*, but *Nág* worship is also common amongst them.

Lohárs and Tháwíns.

Lohárs and Tháwíns—the local name for the Tarkháns of the plains—are socially equal and intermarry. They have *gots*, but no *áls* and are exogamous. A man is ex-communicated if he marries into a different tribe or clan, and a younger brother's widow is never taken to wife, although that of an elder brother is so taken by the *jhanjhrára* rite. Some of the village Tháwíns are of the same stock as Kanets, but they have lost their superior status owing to the fact that they work in stone and in particular make images of the dead. I have been told that the latter work is the only cause of their lowly position They are regarded as *báharke*—outside folk—who are not allowed into the houses of the superior castes. Kanets will occasionally use their *huqqas*, but will not eat or drink with them.

Náís.

There are different tribes of Náís—Chandel, Khakri, Guhrya and Jamwál. They have no *gots*, but regard the *ál*. They do not intermarry in the same *ál*, but intermarry among themselves ; *jhanjhrára* marriage is not practised, they do not take the widow of a deceased brother to wife, and a Kanet girl is accepted as a legal wife. Their chief profession is that of barber, and they are chiefly employed for the performance of birth, marriage and death rites.

Mirásís.

The Mirásís of Mandi belong to the Mokhar *got* and claim to be the hereditary bards of the Rájpúts. Dhádís are of the Tanur

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caste and the Jind *got*. Excepting these no other caste of either tribe is to be found in Mandi. The Mirásís play on the *dholak* and *sitár*, and Dhádís on the *dhadh*, and they recite the deeds of the ancient heroes at the Rája's table. Mirási women dance and sing before the women-folk of their *jajmáns* (clients), but Dhádhi women do not. Mirásís and Dhádís intermarry with one another. At a wedding, birthday or other festival, they visit their *jajmán's* house and receive their *lág* (dues). Dhádís generally receive only half as much as the Mirásís. They have no *pancháyats* of their own, although their chief receives the title of Rána from the State. He gets some additional dues and acts as a herald for which he is paid. The Karháli Mirásís are considered of lower rank, and the Mirásís of the Moghar *got* and the Dhádhís do not marry with them. They play on the *tabla* and *sarangi* and their women sing with them. They also beg when paying a visit to any house to which they have been summoned.

The Mirásis of Mandi only marry with the Rájpút Mirásís of the neighbouring States.

They are Muhammadans observing the rules of Islám, though they are also believers in Devi Bhawáni, and the following is a hymn which they generally sing in praise of Devi Bák Báni:—

"*Maiya ridh de, sidh de, asht nau nidh de, bans ki budh de, Bák Báni.*

Maiya gyán de, dhián de, sarb sukh mán de, abhai bardán de, Bák Báni.

Maiya dukh ko dur kar, sukh bharpúr kar, khalq ki ás puran karámi.

Sri jágti jot Sri jágti jot tu Ambka Ráni."

"O Mother Bák Báni (goddess of eloquence) give us wealth and power, also the coveted nine virtues and increase of our race. O Mother Bák Báni give us knowledge and meditation on God, give us all happiness and grant us the boon of fearlessness. O Mother remove all afflictions and give all comforts. Thou art powerful to fulfil desires of the world and thou art a brilliant light and all brightness O Ambka Ráni."

Chúhrás.

The Chúhrás of Mandi are of two classes, claiming descent from Rájpúts and Brahmans, respectively. The former comprise three *gots*: Ghusar, Chohan and Rathwál; and the latter also three: Kalyáne, Bains and Gaur.

The Chúhrás of the Gaur *got* burn their dead and perform the *kirya* and *srádh* ceremonies. All other Chuhrás bury their dead. They marry among themselves, and recognise the re-marriage of widows. The *Chuhrás* have their own priests, called Chúhra Brahmans, who eat and drink with them.

Kolís.

In addition to Lohárs and Tháwíns, the *báharke log* include the Kolís, Dúmnas, Chanáls, Dágís and Chamárs. All these are mainly of aboriginal origin, although there is an admixture of blood due to liaisons between Kanet men and low-caste women.

The Kolís are the low-caste cultivators of the hills. They not only cultivate as tenants of Brahmans and Khatrís, but also hold in *málguzári* right an unusually large amount of land for the hills. Elsewhere they are often little better than serfs, but here it is now unusual to find them in the low position of purely farm servants, only the most depressed being in that condition They are hard but intermittent workers, and many of them are drunkards and improvidents. Socially and economically they are improving their position, many of the disabilities under which they formerly laboured having been relaxed during the last ten years. They will gain much from the cessation of *begár*. A prosperous Koli is often an unpleasant fellow and one can sympathise with the higher castes in their distrust of the forces which are elevating the tribe.

Other menial castes.

The distinction between the Kolís and other menials is mainly occupational. The Chanál extracts oil, the Dúmna works in bamboo, the Chamár in leather, while the Dági usually, but not always, skins the carcases of cattle and eats the flesh. Agriculturally, all are of the same standard as the Kolís.

Caste restrictions.

In Mandi distinction of caste among the superior tribes is observed in the eating of cooked rice (*bhát*) and pulses (*dál*), but not of other food. Thus a priestly Brahman, while he will not eat either of the foods mentioned if cooked by an agricultural Brahman, will eat ordinary *roti* with him. So also, Rájputs, Khatrís and Kanets will eat *roti* with each other, but the higher will not eat *bhát* cooked by the lower. Among these tribes the mutual use of the same pipe is limited to the bowl—if of brass – and does not extend to the stem. But in all cases the water should be changed.

Similarly a Kanet will not smoke through the stem of a Koli's pipe, but he will use the bowl and draw through his hands, if it has been set aside for Kanet guests, is reasonably clean and has been kept in a respectable part of the Koli's house. The Kanet, as already noted, will not take food or drink from the hands of a Koli.

Food and drink.

The agricultural classes before going to the fields eat bread, made of barley, maize, or coarse millet (*mandal*), with some vegetables cooked in *chhách*. This morning meal is called *kalwár*. The *dopahri* is eaten at midday, and consists of rice or cakes made of maize or millet. In the evening they have a supper which is called *biáli*, at which rice is seldom used. The people of Saráj are fond of cakes made of wheat and poppy seeds, which are boiled

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Food and drink.

in water and with which they mix *ghi* and salt. All the higher classes undress and put on a *dhoti* when they take rice and *dál.* On festive occasions goats are slaughtered and several kinds of dishes prepared. The residents of Mandi town get up before sunrise, rub oil on their bodies and then take a very hot bath. Widows, as a rule, bathe daily, but married women only occasionally. Meat is eaten by men and women of all classes, but widows abstain from it. All eat *jhatka* or the flesh of animals beheaded according to the Hindu rite, *halál*, or the flesh of animals slaughtered according to the Muhammadan rite, being strictly prohibited. Men, not women, cook rice. The people are very fond of drinking *jhol,* which is prepared by boiling *chhách* or butter-milk with salt, *ghi* and spices, at each meal. Many abstain from the use of onions, turnips and carrots but this prejudice is now disappearing. All the lower classes are great consumers of liquor, and the people of Bahl are much given to drinking. The hillmen of Saráj and Sanor are more temperate.

The favourite drinks of the hillmen at fairs are *lugri* and *sur*. The former is prepared from rice, fermented with *pháp,* a kind of yeast imported from Ladákh, and Lahulís manufacture this drink at fairs for sale. *Sur* is made of *kodra* (millet) fermented with *dholi,* a mixture of herbs made into a cake and dried for some days previous to use.

Dress.

The *jhaggi,* a long woollen garment reaching to the knees, is generally used by women, who also wear trousers of the same material, tying a *gáchi* or rope of wool round their waists. They wear caps ornamented with flowers, and shoes of grass made in their homes. At fairs and large gatherings they wear waistcoats (*kurta*) and blankets. Women of the better classes generally wear gold rings in the nose, silver rings in their ears, bangles of brass or zinc on their wrists, a silver necklace, a silver collar of three or four strings round the neck, and brass anklets, weighing as much as a *ser*, on their feet. Among the higher classes in the town of Mandi, the women ordinarily wear a petticoat (*ghághra*) and long trousers (*suthan*) with a *dopatta* or shawl of various gay colours thrown over the head and body. Widows use white *dopattas* instead of coloured ones. At marriages and other festivals instead of *ghághra* the women wear a *pishwáz* or cloth gown of various bright colours, often made of very fine muslin, covering the breast and head with a waistcoat and *dopatta*. They put *surma* or antimony in the eyes, and a *bindi* or thin piece of gold or silver on the forehead. The ordinary dress of a man consists of a smock reaching to the waist, a *choli* or *anga* reaching to the knees and breaches. A peasant wears a *pattu* or blanket as well. Hillmen wear caps, and men of the lower hills turbans of various colours.

SECTION E.—Domestic and Religious Customs and Beliefs.

CHAP. I. E.

Domestic and religious customs and beliefs.

Birth customs.

The *athwain* ceremony takes place at the beginning of the eighth month of pregnancy. An auspicious day is selected by a Brahman who accompanies the woman to a stream. There she bathes under the shadow of a tree in full bearing. Her parents send her a new dress and other relations send presents of rice, fruits, etc. A goat is killed and relations invited to the feast. The Brahman does *puja* in honour of the nine gods (*naugrah*) and gets the clothes of the woman and some eight annas as his fee. When the child is born it is weighed against corn, and the corn goes to the midwife. The clothes of the mother are also the midwife's perquisite if the child is a boy, and her fee in that event varies from one to ten rupees. If, however, the child is a girl the midwife only gets one rupee at the outside and hardly any clothes. Among Khatris when the first child is born, the midwife goes to congratulate the mother's parents, taking some blades of grass (*drubh*) in her hand. They reward her with a new dress. The baby's father is similarly congratulated by his father-in-law's servants who receive some small present. The date of the purification ceremony (*gantriála*) varies in the different castes. Among Brahmans it is the 11th day after confinement; among Rájpúts and Kanets the 13th; among Bohrás the 16th; and among Súds the 30th. The house is whitewashed, prayers are offered to the sun, moon and the nine gods, and also to a vessel full of water, called *kalas*.

On this day the *bhiyái* of a male child is made. The custom varies from place to place, but the following may be regarded as a description of the ordinary rites. On the third day after birth an image of the child is made of cow-dung in the form of a small cone about six inches in circumference at the bottom and about eight inches in height. A Brahman performs rites intended to invest it with life On the *gantriála* day a sacrificial fire is lit and fed with wood of the mango and *pípal* trees. A second image is made of cow-dung, while the first is plastered with earth and a rupee, and the *panch rattan* are placed in it. Small pieces of white soft wood are taken and the women present, having first rubbed these on their gums and chewed them for a minute or two, then rub them on the gums of the child and place them in an even circle round the second image, the object being to facilitate dentition by means of imitative magic. The image is then placed on a small tray and covered with a cloth. It is worshipped and a lamp is burnt in its honour. It is then taken by the women in procession to a *báoli* or spring of water, the

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Birth customs.

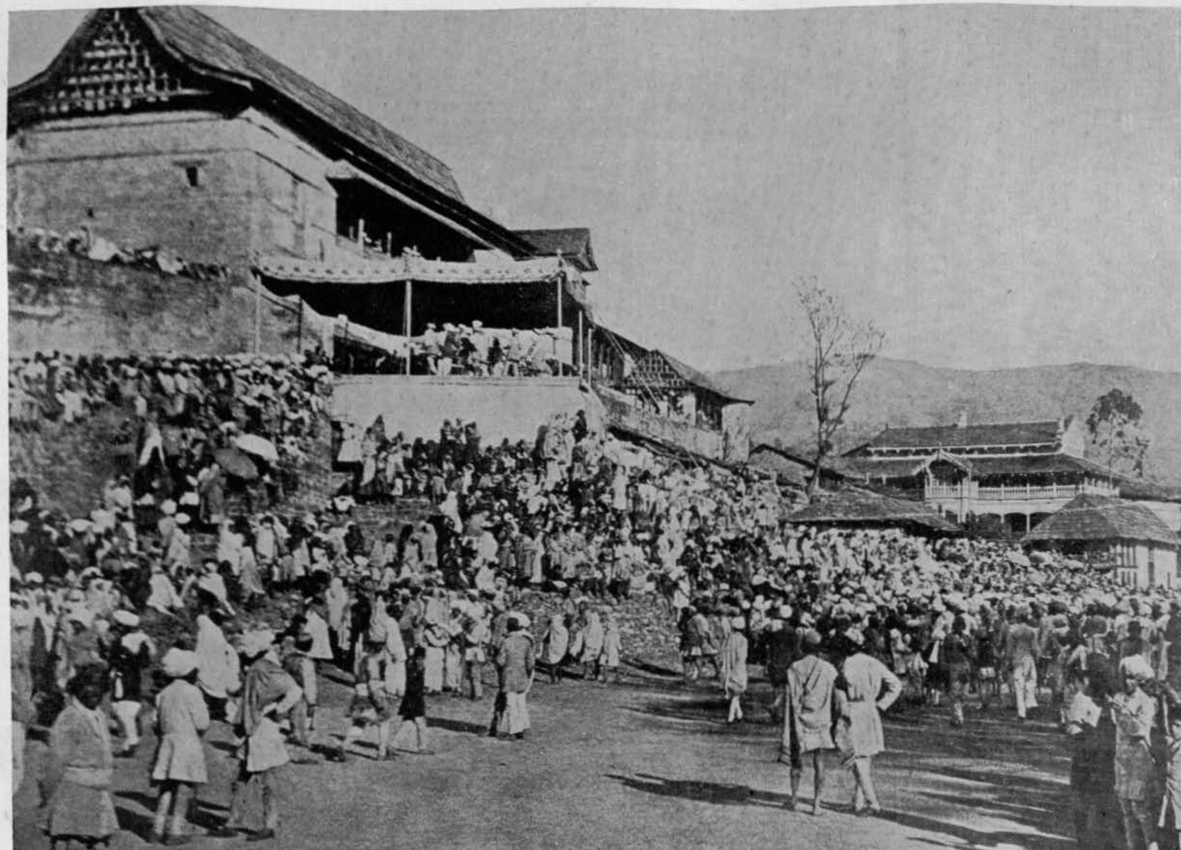
people singing songs of rejoicing as they go and making coloured marks on various objects in the way. Arrived at the *báoli*, they place the image on the wall of the cistern, when it is again worshipped and water is poured over it. Usually it is broken into pieces and thrown into the water, but sometimes it is left on the wall. The mother draws a vessel of water from the spring and it is with this that the original image which is known as the *bhiyái* is always purified and worshipped. This first image is very carefully preserved, a special receptacle for it being often made in the wall of the living apartment. It is removed therefrom only on each anniversary of the child's birth when it is worshipped by the mother, and by the child himself when he is old enough. It is newly plastered each year and any accident to it is regarded as a very evil omen. Were it to fall into the hands of an enemy he would be able to work magic through it and cause harm to the person it represents. On the death of the latter it is thrown into a stream or spring in order to preserve it from pollution.

This strange custom is found in the lower, but not the hill, portions of Mandi, and also in Suket and Kángra. Among some tribes only one image is made, and the ceremony of taking the counterpart to a spring is therefore omitted. Its object appears to be two-fold; firstly, to cleanse the child from all evil influences, and secondly to obtain the favour of the gods on his behalf. On the same day the boy's horoscope is cast and he is generally given a name suggested by the constellation under which he was born. He is dressed in new clothes sent to him by his sister, uncle or aunt, and if he wears such gifts for a whole year his chances of a long and prosperous life will be good.

There is no ceremony connected with the cutting of the teeth. If, however, a child cuts his upper teeth first it is a bad omen for his uncle, who must, if he wishes to avert ill fortune, present the child with clothes dyed blue. A child is weaned in the sixth month, and various articles are put before him—a piece of cloth, a sword, a pen, a book, and some money. Whichever he first touches indicates his future profession.

The ceremony of taking the child outside the house for the first time is performed on a lucky day during the sixth month after his birth; charms are tied on to his limbs to frighten away malevolent spirits, and a piece of gold or silver, carved into the image of the sun, the moon or Mars, is hung round his neck to save him from the sinister influences exercised by the powers of evil.

If a woman constantly loses her children, a diviner is called in. The Brahman fixes on a lucky day, and the diviner takes the



The Shivrátri Fair, Mandi.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

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Birth customs.

woman to bathe in some sacred river. There prayers are offered and a goat sacrificed. If this plan does not succeed the failure is ascribed to fate. Another device is to discover, by the aid of the Brahman, whose is the evil influence that destroys the children, and propitiate him with offerings, the Brahman giving the woman a piece of his magical thread to tie round her neck and waist. If a child survives after this rite has been performed, his nose is bored and he is generally given a low caste name, such as Dúmna, Chamáru, or Hajáru, to propitiate still further the evil influence.

Rája Sidh Sen was a great warrior and his sword is still powerful to scare away the demons that obstruct child birth. In cases of prolonged labour, the sword is borrowed from the State and is dipped in water which is then given to the woman to drink.

Among the Kanets a child is born in the lowest storey of the house where the mother is protected from harm both by lying on mother earth, and by the late or simultaneous occupation of the room by the domestic cattle.

The hair-cutting ceremony.

The first shaving of the boy's head takes place in the 3rd, 5th or 7th year after birth, and among the Kanets at least is of great religious significance. There is little doubt that it represents the fulfilment of a theoretical obligation to offer the life of the boy to the family god and as such is a symbolical celebration of human sacrifice. The rite takes various forms in different parts of the Mandi hills, but in the higher villages it is always performed in the presence of the god and the hair is offered to him. The diviner of the deity often cuts the hair when in a state of possession, and in at least one *garh* the child is seated astride of a goat which is slain as a ransom as soon as the hair is cut. The acceptance of the scape-goat in place of the child admits the latter to the congregation of the god. Up to that time he has been *nádán*—subject to no restrictions—, but henceforth he is under the god's authority.

In the lower hills it is customary to offer the hair at the shrine of a *devi* or at the temple of Bálak Rúpi, a manifestation of Shiva, to whom frequent resort is made by childless women. Intercession is made also at Jawála Mukhi in the Kángra district by a couple desirous of a male child and they will promise him to the goddess, if she grants their boon; but when a son is vouchsafed, they offer the hair of the first-shaving and not the boy to the deity. Similarly, if for any reason a man is unable to visit a temple, where he ought personally to attend, he sends instead a lock of his hair tied in a red piece of cloth with some money and rice.

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Domestic and religious customs and beliefs.

The sacred thread.

Although only the four superior castes are bound to wear the *janeo*, others, such as Kanets, goldsmiths and barbers, wear it when visiting some sacred place, or when they are married. To make the *janeo*, cotton is specially separated by hand from the seeds and woven into thread by the wearer's mother, an unmarried girl, or some old woman of high caste. Three threads make a *lari*, three *larís* make an *agar*, and two *agars* make a *janeo*. For a Brahman the *janeo* should be 96 times the double width of the four fingers; other castes do not make it so long. As a rule three knots are tied in the *janeo*, but the number varies with the different *parwars* whose protection the wearers claim. When a boy assumes the *janeo*, *púja* is offered to Ganesh; sacrifices are performed in three different places and the boy bathes (*punóhi*). The priest clasps the boy's hands and bids him ask the company for alms. The boy's relations then ask the priest to unfasten the string tied round the boy's wrists. This he does and is thenceforward the boy's spiritual adviser.

A *janeo* composed of two *agars* is worn in making offerings to the dead, to deities or seers. For the dead it is worn from the right shoulder across the left, for deities from the left shoulder across the right side, while for seers it is worn like a necklace.

Wearers of the *janeo* are bound to observe the following rules of life :—

(1) To get up early in the morning, answer the call of nature, wash the hands with mud and clean the teeth.

(2) To bathe, say prayers, offer libations of water to dead ancestors, and repeat the *Gāyatri* quietly. Three prayers must be said daily; morning, noon and evening. One whose parents are alive has not to offer any libations.

These rules apply to Brahmans, Khatrís and Rájpúts only.

On the last day of Sáwan, the Brahmans gather together and go to a river or stream where they bathe and purify the *janeo*. It is only changed when broken or after mourning. If a *janeo* thus purified is obtainable for a boy who is assuming it for the first time so much the better, otherwise one is purified by a Brahman. When the *janeo* is broken, the wearer does not speak or eat anything until he has changed it. The Brahmans, Rájpúts, and Khatrís assume it between eight and eleven years of age; Bohrás wear it when they are married; and Kanets, if at all, on occasions of special ceremonial importance. Bohrás and Kanets are supposed to use a *janeo* of 92 "*chap*," but some take a longer or a shorter one.

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Domestic and religious customs and beliefs.

Marriage ceremonies.

Among the higher classes of Hindus in the State early marriage is common, though far from universal. Where it is practised, the betrothal is arranged while the girl is still a child, many taking place between the ages of 3 and 5 years. The marriage follows about five years later, but the husband and wife do not cohabit until the latter attains puberty. The Brahmans and Khatrís of Mandi town do not accept any payment or services for their daughters, the betrothal being regarded as *dharm* or *pun*, an act of religious merit.

The superior clans of Rájpúts experience considerable difficulty in marrying their daughters owing to the rule that their husbands should be of higher social status than they. They have usually to give a handsome dowry, and, if their means do not permit of this, the girls remain unmarried until a comparatively late age, or the father is bribed to give them to Rájpúts of an inferior clan to his own.

Among the Kanets and the low-caste tribes the marriage of girls rarely takes place before puberty, while that of the men is often delayed until they are approaching what is accounted middle age in the hills.

There are four main forms of betrothal :—

(1) *Dharm*, or *pun*, in which the parents of the bride decline to accept any payment. This is rare among the agricultural and lower classes.

(2) Exchange, or *bata sata*, by which a series of marriages is arranged among the relations of the bride and bridegroom respectively; but no money changes hands. Thus *A* will betroth his daughter to the son of *B*, who will give his niece to the brother of *C*, who will give his sister to the son of *D*, who will promise his daughter to *A*'s nephew. Such contracts are fairly common among all the cultivating classes including the village Brahmans, and frequently lead to complicated disputes in the courts. Their weakness is the inter-dependence of each link in the chain, and if, as often happens, one party repudiates the agreement, it is difficult to adjust the various claims, especially when one or more marriages of the series have been duly celebrated.

(3) Labour, or *ghar jawántri* or *kámsi* —In this form the bridegroom labours for the family of the bride, as Jacob served for Rachel, for a time mutually agreed upon, sometimes for as long as ten years. On completion of his service he is entitled to his bride, but breaches of faith are by no means uncommon and with a rise in the standard of wages the custom is declining in favour.

(4) Purchase, or *barína.*—At the present time the most usual method of obtaining a wife is by purchase. In the lower portions

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Domestic and religious customs and beliefs.

Marriage ceremonies.

of the State the bride-price is already high and tends steadily to increase. The difficulty which Ráthís and Kanets on the Kángra border experience in obtaining wives is, indeed, a matter of considerable social importance. They complain that the men of Kángra pay Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 for a Mandi girl and refuse to sell their daughters across the border. The consequence is that the supply of brides is not equal to the demand, while the price of those available is prohibitive for youths of straitened means. Executive action by the State is impracticable, but there is now a strong movement among the people themselves to bring social pressure to bear on fathers who trade for exorbitant profit in their daughters with residents of other tracts, and an attempt is being made to fix a customary price of about Rs. 100 for betrothals inside the State.

The Kanets of the highlands are in a much better position. The *barína* or bride-price of a virgin is still nominal and rarely exceeds Rs. 15. That of a widow, or of a wife sold to another man, is high and sometimes reaches Rs. 300; but this is as it should be. It is to be hoped that the hillmen will not be tempted from motives of avarice to sell their unmarried daughters to the highest bidder.

The standard of honesty in the performance of matrimonial contracts is unhappily deteriorating, and the matter is one which is engaging the close attention of the State authorities. Strong action by the State is entirely in harmony with the views of the people, who are strongly opposed to allowing a betrothed girl a voice in the question as to whether she will, or will not, marry the man chosen for her.

The marriage celebrations take various forms. The most orthodox is *biáh* or marriage according to the *sháshtras*. The presence of Brahman officiants is essential, there is a regular marriage procession, the sacred fire is circumambulated and the bridegroom wears a crown when he goes to the bride's house.

In Chuhár and Badár a modification of this form is found. The betrothal is arranged after a reference is made to the family god and the marriage follows shortly afterwards. For two days previous to the date fixed, a Brahman sits at the house of the groom saying prayers. A saucer of oil is placed before him and the youth sits by his side. The friends and relations of the latter pass in front of him and dipping a little sacred grass in the oil sprinkle it on his head. A similar ceremony is performed in regard to the bride at her house. On an auspicious day the bridegroom, wearing a crown, goes with his friends to the house of his future wife. Two women come out to meet him, throw small balls of dough at him, and wave round his head a tray with

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a lighted lamp on it. This ceremony is not, as one might suppose, a survival of marriage by capture, but a device to drive away all untoward influences. When it is completed, he is allowed to enter and is seated by the bride. A goat is sacrificed and a small feast held. Usually on the same day the bridegroom takes his wife to her future home.

The part played by the family priest of the girl is here a very minor one, and usually consists of drawing the picture of a marriage procession on the walls of the house. As his artistic skill is often small, the usual results are very crude representations of elephants and horses.

In Sanor, however, he takes the place of the two women and expels evil spirits by throwing flour over the bridegroom. He also places the nose-ring in the nose of the bride, after the corners of her shawl and that of the bridegroom have been tied together. Sometimes the couple makes four circuits round a vessel filled with liquor or country beer.

Often the god of the bridegroom is represented at the wedding ceremonies by his standard and diviner; and a rich man will invite him to come with his litter, office-bearers and attendants. The part played by the deity in the celebration of hill marriages is of considerable interest, and, in this connection, it may be noted that a woman on marriage enters the jurisdiction of her husband's god. In many parts of the hills consummation does not occur until the deity has formally admitted her to the congregation.

Among the poorer Kanets, little ceremony is observed on the occasion of marriages. The bridegroom goes on an appointed day and brings his bride home, sacrificing a goat on arrival to his ancestral god. The girl is given a rope and a sickle by her parents; these gifts are general among the agricultural classes and correctly symbolise the position of married women in the hills. Sometimes she is also given a new shawl or blanket, and a string of black wool to twine in her hair.

The function of the wife as the mother of her husband's children is represented in yet another form of marriage, where no ceremonies at all are performed until she has borne a child. The husband and wife take it in their arms, worship Ganesh and thus perform the rites of marriage.

Marriage by capture still prevails and a betrothed youth whose marriage has been postponed will sometimes carry off his affianced bride by force. A fire is made of *ber* wood in the jungle and its circumambulation by the couple constitutes a valid marriage.

Widow re-marriage

Among the higher classes of Brahmans, Rájpúts, Khatrís and Bohrás widows do not remarry, and chastity is, in theory at

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least, a condition attaching to the enjoyment of a life interest in the estate of the deceased husband. Among Kanets, and to a large extent among Ráthís, widow re-marriage is common; although, in the majority of cases, it takes the form of the woman cohabiting either with a brother or near relative of the former husband. In the former case the relation is known as *dharewa karewa* and in the latter as *jhanjhrára*. In neither form are any ceremonies necessary. The marriage of a younger brother's widow appears to be practised only by members of the lowest castes, but that of an elder brother's widow is general with the agricultural classes, and rests on the claim of succession by inheritance.

There is a saying in the higher hills that a woman is never a widow and she certainly is rarely without a partner. If she so wishes, she has little difficulty in finding a new husband, for her value as a worker in the fields makes her a profitable match. If she is disinclined to leave her deceased husband's home and land, she can still take a consort to live with her without forfeiting her life-interest, which is conditional on residence and not on chastity. Such irregular unions are common, the man being known generally as *konsal*, a word derived from counsellor and still also used to designate the European advisers, who, at one time or another, have been deputed to the State to assist the Rájas. The issue are entitled to a full share in the property of the consort, but have no claim to the life-estate of the widow.

Similarly, where a Kanet, or other inferior agriculturist, takes a woman of the same tribe into his own house, the children are entitled to succeed even though no formal rites of marriage have been performed. But where he does not do this and the cohabitation is casual, they will be entitled, at most, to maintenance.

Polyandry.

Polyandry is found to a limited extent in the high lands of Saráj, where the varied occupations of the people and the independence of the women constitute serious obstacles in the way of separate establishments. In a family of several brothers, one may be required for the cultivation of the land, another to tend the flocks, a third to earn money in the forests, while, until the abolition of *begár*, a fourth had to labour for the State. The hill-woman is sociable and independent. She dislikes being left alone and falls an easy victim to the voice of the tempter; she dislikes still more the presence of a rival in the home whether she be a co-wife or a sister-in-law. She prefers to distribute her favours among the brothers, so long as she rules alone over their establishment, and the people say that the system works well provided the woman is impartial and the brothers observe faith with each other. But the custom is already on the decline, and the abolition of *begár*

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with the stimulus given to partition by the introduction of a regular revenue system will result in its practical disappearance within a few years.

Relations between the sexes.

It is a proverb in Mandi that the hill woman is like the summer quail which comes one day and leaves the next. The comparison has only too much truth in it, for, as in Kulu, "chastity, if regarded as a virtue at all, is by no means considered a duty" The marital tie is loose and can be broken with ease by either party, but the man will rarely divorce a wife unless he is assured of receiving her full value from the paramour. She is a valuable property, and while he can readily console himself with a substitute he will have to pay the market price. So he naturally recovers this from his first wife's lover. He may resort to the criminal law, but his object will be to obtain suitable compensation and not to inflict punishment on the culprit. Usually these domestic scandals are settled amicably among the parties concerned and do not reach the Courts The sale of a wife is by no means uncommon and is made a source of profit to the State. The parties have to report their intention, obtain formal sanction and pay 10 per cent. of the contract money as fees. Sometimes it is a condition of the agreement that if a child be born within ten months of the sale, it shall be regarded as the property of the vendor and not the purchaser. But the ordinary principle followed is embodied in the rule, "*Jis ká khet us ká phal.*" If a man has paid for the field, he is entitled to the produce. The hill-woman, in short, is little better than a chattel, but the fault is largely her own ; and it is typical of the topsy turveydom of the hills, that though she is passed from hand to hand she still succeeds in attaining a position of supremacy in each home she visits.

Death ceremonies.

A person should breathe his last when laid on mother earth and, if it is not possible to remove him to the courtyard during his dying moments, fresh earth should, at least, be spread beneath him. The corpse is cremated as soon as possible if it be that of an adult ; if that of a child which has not yet cut all its teeth it is thrown into a river or buried. As in Kángra, the body is sometimes buried below the threshold in the hope that the soul may be re-born in another child. The spirits of small children are never malevolent, and hence there is no danger in keeping them near the house. It is otherwise with the spirits of adults, which, if not properly laid to rest, may haunt the relatives in some malevolent shape. And so the funeral ceremonies have two main objects in view, founded respectively on fear and piety, of which among the primitive hill people the former is the more powerful. The spirit must be bribed, persuaded, or deterred from returning

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to its former haunts, and it must be provided with those material comforts which will enable it to attain rest and then re-birth. The two motives overlap and it is sometimes difficult to say which inspires a particular rite, but it is rare to find a usage not attributable to one or other. The soul must accompany the corpse to the cremation ground, and so in Saráj two men precede the bier holding a strip of white cloth of the same length as the deceased to guide his spirit along the right path. Small bridges are built across intervening streams for it to cross by, and in Bhádon, when the hill torrents are swollen, these are made across the watercourses near the village whether they lie on the road to the burning ground or not. Grain is dropped at various stages on the road to sustain the spirit on its journey, or to support it if, by any chance, it mistake the way. The bier should be of deodar, and if the pyre cannot be built of the same wood, a few twigs should, at least, be mixed with the fuel. The soul when liberated at the pile must be prevented from returning to the village. So a bramble bush is laid over the ashes and a heavy stone laid on top of it; or a magic circle is made by driving iron nails round the place of cremation. Thorn-bushes are placed across the path by which the mourners went, and if there be special reason for apprehending the soul's return, rubbish is burnt near the houses so that the acrid smell may frighten it away. If the deceased has committed suicide or died under tragic circumstances, elaborate precautions must be taken and it will then be wise to take the corpse by a round-about way, to remove it through the window and not the door, or even to make a special passage for it through the wall, being careful of course, to close the exit as soon as possible.

But though the spirit be thus temporarily diverted from the habitations of the mourners, it cannot achieve contentment without their further aid. It is as yet a tiny helpless creature dependent for the satisfaction of its needs on the pious offerings of the dead man's heirs, and as it grows in strength so must the gifts increase until at the *chaub:rkha*, celebrated on the fourth anniversary after death, oblations on a liberal scale furnish the sustenance essential to its perfect form. Subsequent offerings are rare except among the higher classes, and in any case they are small in amount. Food is not the only requisite. Clothes, cooking vessels, a bed, bedding, tobacco and any delicacy to which the deceased was partial should be given, but spirituous liquor is rarely offered. Sometimes, a diminutive ladder is provided on which the spirit may scale obstructing precipices. The Brahmans are the chief mediums through which the soul is fed, but virgins are also channels of communication and so are feasted at the *sharádhs* and other funeral celebrations.

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The *pret pálu.*

Such are the ideas relating to the spirits of the dead, and we find a curious expression of them in connection with the demise of the Rájas of several of the hill States inclusive of Mandi. In the following account, a general description is given of the custom, and all the features mentioned are not found in Mandi itself, though most of them occur: When a Rája is near the point of death, a low class Brahman is summoned from some place outside the State. A dish of sweetened rice and milk is prepared, and when the breath leaves the body a portion of this is placed in the right hand of the corpse. The Brahman then approaches and eats of the rice out of the lifeless hand. For each spoonful he swallows, he receives a reward of fifteen rupees, but the fees earned on such occasions do not run into an extravagant amount. He is then dressed in the clothes and ornaments of the late ruler, is given a sword, a palanquin and a horse and is furnished with cooking utensils from the royal kitchen, and with anything else within reason which he may desire. He is lodged either in the palace or in a building adjacent to it, and is given as attendants the personal servants of the late Rája. In some places he is addressed as Rája. He is not allowed to leave the residence allotted to him, except on special occasions when he repairs to the temple where the services for the dead chief are held For a whole year he lives in the State as an honoured guest. The monthly gifts of food offered for the comfort of the Rája's soul are consumed by him. His last feast is on the first anniversary of death when he obtains the *barshola* or offerings of cakes and other food made in the name of the deceased ruler. This he enjoys early in the morning The same afternoon he is escorted with every mark of honour outside the confines of the State. He is himself mounted on a horse, but the chief officials, who follow him, go on foot. The latter throw alms of copper coins on him as he rides, and having accompanied him a mile or so respectfully ask permission to return. This is formally given, but the Brahman is not allowed to proceed alone. An escort of soldiers or police go with him to the frontier which he must cross before nightfall It is part of their duty to see that he does not alight from his horse, and, if necessary, they must prevent him from doing so by force. They have also to see that he neither gives away nor sells within the State territory any of the various gifts he has accumulated during his year of office. Once across the border he can never return.

The explanation of this custom is contained in the title of the Brahman. He is known as the *pret pálu*, *pret* meaning the immature soul and *pálu* sustainer or feeder. The priest is the envelope of the Rája's soul which passes into his body through the spoonfuls of sweetened rice. The Rája, though dead, still

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lives in the human sustainer of his soul, and it is to the king and not to the priest that homage is paid. The Brahman's wants and desires are those of the departed ruler and hence must be gratified at once. For fear as much as piety accounted for the original institution, though now-a-days the veneration of the dead is the dominating motive. Nevertheless, the prohibition on the Brahman alighting from his horse is still ascribed to the belief that, should he do so, the late Rája would continue to rule in spirit over that part of his territory within view. Similarly, the fear of a conflict of authority explains the removal outside the State of all clothes and ornaments worn by the *pret pálu* and of all gifts acquired by him.

The above interpretation of the banishment of the Rája's deputy disposes of a theory advanced in the Golden Bough. A very brief account of the custom is there given and it is suggested that the Brahman may have been originally a sacrificial victim, slain vicariously for the Rája, and that, as was often the case in similar substitutions, the extreme penalty was commuted into a sentence of exile.[1] But, although traces of kingly sacrifice are found in the Himalayas, the institution of the *pret pálu* is not one of them. There is no evidence whatsoever to show that he was ever slain, and his death, in fact, would have defeated the very object of his appointment.

Ghostly visitations.

However elaborate the precautions may be to avert the return of departed shades, there is no assurance that their object will be achieved. The visitations of ghosts are very common, and unhappily they usually assume a malicious form. There appears to be no definite period after which immunity may be assumed. One man in Mandi assured the writer that he was afflicted by the spirit of his grandmother twenty years after her death. Sometimes the enmity takes the form of possession, the victim trembling and shaking from its effects; but this is rare, the more common intimation of the ghost's arrival being the illness of one of its relatives, disease among the cattle or failure of the crops. Similar calamities are, of course, brought about by other supernatural agencies, and no presumption arises that a departed ancestor is to blame. At the best, it remains a case of suspicion until the trouble has been properly diagnosed by a professional magician or a god's diviner. If he decides in favour of the ghost, it is exorcised in cases of possession and then placated; otherwise propitiation is the only essential treatment. A very popular method of appeasing the shades of the dead in the Kángra district and the adjoining portions of Mandi is to make a silver image of the deceased and to hang it round the neck.

[1] Golden Bough—The dying God, p. 154.

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Regular worship is paid to it, and when food is eaten the first morsel is given to it. Many persons wear such amulets or *autars* as they are called, and the inquisitive by means of a few judicious questions will gain from them much curious information about the ways of ghosts. In the hills, *autars* are not so popular, the restless spirit being there placated by the erection of a shrine at which regular offerings are made, and occasionally by the dedication of a small strip of land in addition.

Memorial tablets.

A description has already been given on page 31 of the *barsela* monuments erected in honour of the Rájas of Mandi. These are by far the most imposing funeral tablets existing in the State; but the practice of erecting memorials to the dead is not confined to the ruling family. It is, in fact, widespread, although the monuments are usually of a very modest description and consist of small slabs of stone or slate fashioned into a crude likeness of the deceased. They are generally placed by the side of springs and cisterns, in the pious hope that the guardian spirit will assuage the thirst of the parched soul; but they are sometimes seen in the precincts of a temple and the motive is then to consign the soul to the care of the presiding deity. The ceremonies attending their consecration are of some interest. On the day of death the relatives of the deceased engage a mason to prepare the tablet. He works for 13 days consecutively, and must eat no food until his daily task is accomplished. On the thirteenth day he completes the work. The *kirya* and other ceremonies are then performed and the tablet is brought to the place chosen for its erection. The burnt sacrifice is made and the image coloured with vermilion. It is purified first with the five products of the cow and then with a mixture of *ghi*, sugar, honey, milk and curds. Certain hymns of the *Vedas* are then recited by the officiating Brahmans with the object of infusing it with the life and spirit of the deceased, after which, according to the popular belief, it is regarded " as the living personality of the defunct." Incense is kindled before it and various dishes of food offered to it. A garland is hung round the neck and the body is invested with the sacred thread. It is dressed in embroidered clothes and a shawl placed round it. Offerings of cocoanuts and of money according to the means of the relatives are made and these are the perquisites of the officiating priest. The shawl is given to the mason who made the image and he also receives a small reward in cash. The poor, instead of preserving the monument, throw it into the river or a stream; but the well-to-do arrange for its daily worship until the first *sharádh* is performed.

The above rites appear to be practised only by the higher classes. Their significance lies in the fact that the monument

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is much more than a memorial tablet and is rather a convenient receptacle for the soul, through which strength and nourishment may be transmitted. It is the lifeless counterpart of the *pret pálu*.

Memorial tablets.

Around some of the hill temples, and especially those of the *Nágs*, rough images of wood may be seen. These represent the former diviners of the god, and their erection is inspired by two motives. The spirits of the departed are under the care of the deity; but they continue to serve him as the bodies of their former owners did in life.

Sati heaps.

In many parts of the State are large heaps of stone lying by the roadside. These are *sati* heaps and rumour says that when a widow resolved to burn with her husband on the funeral pyre she laid a stone at a certain spot. Passers-by followed her example, throwing a stone on the cairn, partly in honour of her virtuous end, and partly to placate her spirit, which, like the shades of all who meet a tragic fate, is of very doubtful benevolence.

Acts of merit.

Among the acts of charity and merit performed, either in honour of the dead or for the welfare of the giver's own soul, the construction of a masonry wall round a *pípal* tree is perhaps the most common. The *pípal* is sacred both to Bráhma and Shiva, and widows, by gratifying the latter deity, hope to bring comfort to the souls of their deceased husbands.

Another form of charity is to provide water to way-farers at places on the main roads where the streams and springs are few and far between. The summit of a pass is a favourite location for such drinking huts, the merit of the act being in proportion to the gratitude of the person benefited. A permanent servant is retained on a low wage and it is his duty to see that sufficient vessels of water are kept for the needs of travellers.

An alternative and more expensive work of merit is the construction of a masonry cistern round a natural spring; and in this connection an interesting symbolical survival of human sacrifice obtains in parts of the Mandi State and Kangra district.

When the work is completed a ceremony of consecration takes place, at which a man stands inside or close to the cistern. The officiating Brahman pours water on him, and after ordinary worship has been performed the cistern is available for public use. But the man is known thereafter as a *dina*, or water-snake, for on his death his spirit will assume the form of a serpent and will guard the fountain. A person has, now-a-days, to be heavily bribed to undertake the rôle of *dina*, for the pouring of water by the priest dedicates him to the gods, the pre-

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sent form of the ceremony being merely a mitigation of sacrifice. Having been devoted, he is regarded as uncanny, and his fellow-caste-men will neither eat nor drink with him.

Witchcraft.

The hill-people are firm believers in witches and witchcraft. When Moorcroft, the Himalayan traveller, was at Nádaun he was entertained "with some marvellous stories of the power of the *dains*," or witches of the mountains; and amongst others, one of a *zamíndár* who, having lost his son and a favourite cow, accused an old woman of the village of having destroyed them by magically eating their lives. "The poor woman, after a severe whipping, pleaded guilty, and accused a number of other women in the village of being witches also; her head was cut off; but when it was found that her supposed sisterhood comprised the wives of all the principal farmers, the *málik* of the village contented himself with fining them three hundred rupees."[1] Mr. Moorcroft was told that he would be convinced of the real existence of witches when he reached Mandi, but unfortunately he did not place his further experiences and convictions on record.

Mandi and Suket have always been famous for their witches. The Ghoghar-ki-Dhár, not far from Jhatingri, is notorious for the battle which rages there on the 16th of Bhádon each year. The combatants are the gods and the witches. If the former win, there will be little sickness during the year, but the crops will be poor; if the latter are victorious, the harvest will be bountiful, but there will be many deaths amongst the people. On the night of the battle the graziers remove their cattle from near the place on the ridge where the rival hosts assemble, and the peasants are always careful not to go outside after nightfall. The doors are securely bolted, thorn branches placed before them, charms nailed on the lintels and mustard seed sprinkled on the fields and around the houses and the cattle sheds. That night one should always sleep on the left side, for otherwise a witch may snatch away one's heart. Fever contracted that day is "witch's fever," and very difficult to cure; if it is not shaken off before the *Diwáli*, the patient will die.

Formerly, several methods were practised for the detection of witches. The most popular was the water test. A woman suspected of witchcraft was tied in a blanket and then thrown into a pond. If she sank, she was innocent—but then she rarely survived the treatment; if she floated, as all witches do, she was put to death. So, in any case, she gave no further trouble. Trial by ordeal was sometimes adopted. Two balls of flour, one containing gold and the other silver, were placed in a vessel of water. The suspect was bathed and made to stand on a sacred

[1] Travels in the Punjab, Ladákh and Kashmir, page 124.

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square. She then picked out one of the balls, silver proclaiming her innocence while gold confirmed her guilt. Or again, when a witch was known to be doing mischief, the women of the neighbourhood were paraded before a *gur*, or diviner of the god, who was in a state of ectasy. Each woman spat on the ground as she passed, and if the *gur* took no notice she left with an unblemished character; but if the *gur* springing forward began to wallop her with his iron scourge, then she was proved a witch and was lucky if she escaped with her life.

These practices are now rarely followed; but persons who are suspected of witchcraft are carefully avoided. Only a few months ago the writer received a petition from a woman living in a village from which the spirit of the local deity had fled. Disgusted with his subjects he had run away and his diviner could not, in consequence, come under the divine afflatus. The villagers suspected the petitioner of having bewitched the god and she complained that they were ill-treating her. She protested her innocence, bringing a countercharge against the diviner's wife, whom she alleged to be the cause of all the trouble. Finally she asked that the police should be allowed to investigate "according to ancient custom" and to punish the guilty one. The request, it need hardly be added, was not granted.

Magic.

The fear of magic is deep rooted and widespread. A wizard by obtaining the hair of a person, or the parings of the nails, may work what harm he wills on their former owner, and hence special care is taken to destroy them or throw them into a stream. One of the late Rájas used to have a guard placed over them until they could be satisfactorily disposed of. Similarly with the leopard, its whiskers, claws and flesh can all be used in magical preparations, and hence it is a strict rule in the State that every leopard shot has to be brought whole to head-quarters, where it is carefully examined to make sure that there has been no tampering with the magical parts. It is skinned before a guard of soldiers and the flesh thrown into the river in their presence, the skin being kept in safe custody until it can be given to a religious mendicant. The owl, besides being a bird of ill omen, is sometimes used for purposes of magic.

The custom of making an image of an enemy and of then sticking pins in it, breaking off a limb or otherwise mutilating it, is found in the hills. But, unlike the similar practice in Europe, it is founded on more logical grounds; for, in order to have the desired effect on the person represented, it is considered necessary to have obtained possession of his hair, a strip of his clothes or any other article which through close contact with him has become infused with his spirit. This is imparted to the

image and it is through the injury inflicted on the life or spirit that the body suffers.

The same device is employed in order to dispose of a witch, evil spirit or other troublesome being who is causing mischief. The person bewitched or possessed consults a Brahman or diviner who casts out the unclean spirit into some convenient receptacle, and then proceeds to torment it or otherwise deal with it as the circumstances may demand. Such methods are quite respectable when they are used to avert or expel evil ; it is only when resort is made to them in order to bring injury to other persons that they come within the category of black magic.

A professor of the white art gave the writer the following account of how he cures a person whom a witch has over-shadowed : A small strip of ground must first be well swept and cleaned, and then a magic circle described on it. This is divided into sectors by red and white lines and in the different divisions various articles are placed. There should be the image of a kid made of dough, something red, something black, and something white, the fruits of the earth, a few grains of the hill-millet, some mustard seed and some small lighted lamps. Three sticks are placed at equal intervals round the circumference and these must all be split at the top or the charm will fail. Threads of cotton are wrapped round them, when the circle then possesses the necessary magical virtues. The magician sits on one side of it, the patient on the other. The former takes two earthen vessels, one large and the other small. The first he covers with a metal tray, having previously placed a copper coin in it; the second contains salt and iron, being intended for the reception of the witch. The sufferer has to gaze intently on the magic circle while the wizard beats on the tray and drones incantations. Presently both become possessed, the former shaking from the spirit of the witch, the latter from that of the power through whom he works. The magician talks to the witch, becoming more and more violent as he remonstrates with her, until at length he seizes her victim and, dragging him along, casts the spirit into the small vessel. He at once claps on the lid and then buries the witch and the pot in some secluded place.

There is in Mandi a class of persons known as *maqámís* or localisers, and, acting up to their name, they mark down a source of trouble without attempting to supply the remedy. They are consulting rather than practising physicians. They profess to work through the power of the five *Pírs*, or of *Lakh Dáta*, their Hindu associate. A person in difficulties will go to a *maqámi* who squats on the ground, lights a censor of incense, waives the smoke into his face and beats himself with an

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iron scourge. Having worked himself into a state of possession, he takes something belonging to his patient, a piece of cloth, a coin from his waist-cloth or any trifle. This he smells for several minutes so as to get into touch with the man's spirit, and after some thought proceeds to discuss the cause of his misfortune. He will not say anything definite, but will give various hints. If, for instance, the evil is due to the spite of an enemy, he will mention that the latter lives to the south of the victim's village, that he is tall and strong, that he owns many flocks and so on. Finally, he will give the name of the god or magician whom his client should consult in order to obtain relief.

Religion.

The religion of the State falls naturally into three groups—(1) the more or less orthodox practices and beliefs of the superior Brahmans, of the Khatrís and, to a less extent, of the higher clans of Rájpúts; (2) the religious beliefs prevalent among the agricultural classes of the portions of the State bordering on the Kángra district and the Biláspur State; and (3) the religion of the hills. To a certain extent the groups overlap, but each possesses distinctive features which distinguish it from the other two.

Orthodox Hinduism.

Little need be said in regard to orthodox Hinduism. Although an incarnation of Vishnu in the form of Mádho Rao is the national god of the State, the worship of Shiva and of Devi, his consort, is predominant, Vishnavism being clearly an innovation to which only conventional adherence is given. The phallic emblems both of Shiva and Devi are of very common occurrence and are often seen in connection with the Nág or serpent. The following account of the Shaivaite worship is reproduced from the previous edition of the Gazetteer:—

(1) Devi is a popular object of veneration all over the State. This goddess goes by several names, *viz.*, Sri Vidya, Bála, Káli, Tára, Bagla and Durga. A goat is her usual sacrifice:—

(*a*) Sri Vidya, known also as Rájeshwari, is depicted as having four arms and holding the top of a man's skull (*pakha* or *pasha*), an elephant goad (*ankush*), a bow (*dhanush*) and an arrow (*bán*). She wears red garments and has a half moon on her forehead. She is supposed to be the giver of wealth and happiness. Her bedstead is supported by Brahma, Vishnu, Indra and Shiva. She lives in the Mán Dwip of heaven. There is a temple of this goddess in the Rája's palace, the old Rájas of Mandi being among her worshippers.

(*b*) Bála Devi has also four arms. In one hand is a sacred book, in another a string of beads. A third

hand is stretched forth as if in the act of granting a boon, while the fourth is supposed to be making a sign of having removed all fears.

(c) Káli has many forms. She is usually shown, holding a lotus, shell (conch or *shankh*), discus and club. One of her shrines is on the edge of the large tank in Mandi. Dichhat Brahmans are her chief devotees.

(d) Tára has four arms and holds a pair of scissors, a sword, a skull and a lotus flower. A four-tongued serpent is shown in her matted hair.

The great Shiyáma Káli temple built by Rája Shiyám Sen in 1659 A. D. has a statue of this goddess.

During the *Naurátra* days in September Hindus of all classes visit this temple and sacrifice a goat to the goddess. The ceilings of the temple are decorated with paintings in gold and silver.

(e) Bagla Mukhi Devi is so named because her face resembles that of a heron. She wears yellow garments. In one hand she holds a club, in the other a demon's tongue.

The Prohits of the ruling family are followers of this goddess.

(f) Durga or Bhawáni is represented as riding on a tiger. She is worshipped by all classes during the September *Naurátras.* Her sacred writings are the Devi Purán, a part of the Márkandá Purán and Chandi Páth. Her followers are divided into two sects, *viz.*, Vámachárís and Dakshanachárís. Most of the Brahmans and the Khatrís are Dakshanachárís. The Vámachárís hold their religious meetings secretly and eat and drink freely. The Dakshanachárís, also known as *sháktiks*, do not offer liquor to the goddess and look with disfavour on the loose practices of the Vámachárís.

(2) Shiva, whose emblem is the *linga*, is worshipped chiefly by Brahmans, Rájpúts, Khatrís and Bohrás.

The sacred bull Nanda, the steed of Shiva, has his altar attached to all the shrines of the god. Shiva's consort Gaura is often shown as riding on the bull with him. Offerings of flowers and leaves are made to this deity.

Shiva is known in several forms. The commonest of these (whose temple is on the left side of the Beás) is that of Pancha Vaktra or five-faced Shiva. The three-faced Shiva is known as Trilok Náth; his temple is on the right side of the river.

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Another form of Shiva is that of Ardh Nareshwara; with half the body of Shiva and half of his consort Párbati or Gaura. A temple in Samkhetar street in Mandi is dedicated to this form.

There is a very old temple in Mandi for Shiva worship known as "Bhút Náth." The pinnacle of its dome is gold plated. The late Rája Bijái Sen had an entrance gate made in Lucknow decorated with gold and silver and presented it to the temple.

Bálak Náth, the son of Shiva, has his followers. There is a temple dedicated to this deity on the bank of the Beás.

(3) Ganpati, or Ganesh, the elephant-headed divinity, is worshipped by Hindus of the higher classes. He is the most dutiful son of Shiva and is the first invoked and propitiated in every undertaking. He is four armed and holds a disc, warshell, club and lotus. His steed is a rat. His image at the door of a house is considered a protection from evil. Rája Sidh Sen built a temple for this deity and added an image of his own size.

(4) There are a few Brahmans and Khatrís who reverence Bhairon, a disciple of Shiva. His image is painted on a piece of paper and worshipped. A temple on the edge of the great tank in Mandi belongs to this deity and is known as Sidh Bhairon. Prayers are offered four times a day, *viz.*, at daybreak, noon, sunset and midnight.

Out of 49 places of worship in Mandi town (44 being temples proper) no less than 24 are dedicated to Shiva. The Gosáíns of Mandi are followers of Shiva. Their dead are buried in sitting posture and tumuli, generally conical in form, erected over them. This sect has declined in importance. The priests are known as Mahants, they do not marry but adopt *chelas*. Their shrines are called *Mat*

Particular ceremonies.

Even among the more orthodox classes, ancient ceremonies have survived which are not usually found in the plains and several of these are of some interest.

The *Bhaola Chauth*, which is celebrated on the 4th day of the last quarter of Bhádon, is essentially a women's festival. In the palace it is observed as a special occasion on which prayers should be said for the health of the Rája. A cow, a calf and a winnowing basket are the chief objects of worship, and this combination, taken in conjunction with the fact that women who have children living are feasted and worshipped, would suggest that the festival was originally associated with fecundity and fertility in general. It has, however, now lost this character, if it ever possessed it. Pictures of heaven, of the various deities and of a cow and a calf (the living animals are also present) are drawn in the winnowing basket and prayers made to all for the

long life and welfare of the ruling chief. In private houses similar worship is performed by the women on behalf of their husbands.

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A somewhat similar festival is held earlier in the month of Bhádon on the birthday of Gauri. Some eight days previously a toy dooly is made and barley sown in it. The image of Gauri is placed therein and is worshipped each day by the women of the household; but no widow is allowed to take part. On the eighth day the dooly and image of the goddess are thrown into the river, but the young barley shoots are distributed among the members of the family and worn by them in their head-dress.

The popular explanation is that Shiva, being well pleased with Gauri his mistress, promised that if women should fast at this season and meditate on her they would prove faithful and obedient wives and their husbands enjoy long life. But comparison with similar observances elsewhere in the Himalayas leaves no doubt that the original object of the ceremony has been forgotten in Mandi, and that in its primitive form the rites were intended to promote the fertility of the soil.

Religion of the lower hills.

The religion of the lower hills appears to represent a fusion between the cults of the Himalayas proper and the beliefs of the later Rájpút invaders. Over this admixture a veneer of orthodox Hinduism has been superimposed. The Rájpúts, we may surmise, did not entirely drive away the Kanets they found in possession, with the result that an interchange of religious ideas took place. There are traces of the territorial and ancestral deity—which is the outstanding feature of the Himalayan religion—but they are vague, and the allegiance claimed by and given to the family god, when one exists, is far less real than in the higher hills. The names of places and popular tradition prove that the serpent cult prevailed at one time and was probably general: but with the exception of the worship of Gugá—who is not a Himalayan divinity—the veneration of the Nág is now chiefly confined to his attribute as the protector of cattle and he has often been displaced even from this rôle by later gods.

The worship of Devi is common. Her shrines are usually on the summits of hills, so that she has preserved her character of Párbati, the goddess of the mountains. Blood sacrifices are made to her, and indeed to most of the gods; and a local Devi is often regarded as the family diety to whom the hair of the first tonsure should be offered.

But, generally speaking, the people of the lower hills rely far less on the favour of a guardian hereditary deity than do the true hillmen. They are more catholic, if less trusting, in

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their beliefs, and are quite ready to test the powers of any divinity with a local reputation. The writer, for instance, has seen under a single tree the shrines of three different and distinct divinities, each of which received a certain amount of popular attention. The first was a diminutive roofed shrine in honour of Lakh Dáta, his Muhammadan connection being shown by a small grave adjacent to the shrine. He was worshipped on Thursday, his *chela* being a Juláha. Nar Singh was represented by several *pinds* beneath the shade of the *simbal* tree in which his spirit was supposed to dwell. Several threads of cotton had been tied round the trunk of the tree and the god thus invested with the *janeo*. The third shrine contained the image of a Siddh, but he was apparently not in great demand, for the usual accessories of his worship were absent.

The cult of Gugá.

In this part of the State, as in the Kángra district, Guga, the serpent demi-god, is a popular object of worship, especially in cases of snake-bite. Shrines to him are often seen in the villages, the god being shown on horse-back with the images of his chief followers by his side. He is not strictly speaking a Himalayan god, and it is probable that his cult was introduced by the late Rájpút invaders of the hills from Rájpútána. He is not venerated much by the Kanets of the upper villages, but in the lower hills he is generally recognised, and certain Rájpút clans regard him as their ancestral god. His special followers are the Náths, and in Mandi itself some of them pretend to special skill, due to his power, in catching snakes and curing their bites. The chief festival of Guga is on the ninth day of the dark half of the month Bhádon when he is supposed to have disappeared into the ground. On that day, the Náths carry the images of himself and his attendants, with their canopies of cobra hoods, from house to house, singing songs in his honour and begging for alms.

An account of Guga will be found in the Kángra Gazetteer, but the following version given to the compiler by a Náth of Mandi is more detailed and not without interest:—

"There lived once upon a time in the country of Márwár two sisters whose names were Kasla and Basla. Neither had yet borne an heir to her husband and both longed ardently for a son. For twelve years Basla had prayed to Bráhma and for twelve years to Vishnu; but her prayers had been unheeded. Then it so happened that Guru Gorakh Náth came to Márwár from the country of Kajli Ban and his followers numbered 90,000 million. At their coming the desert blossomed and the dry wells gave water. Basla, hearing of their sanctity, resolved to serve the Jogís, and sending a maid servant to the Guru begged him to visit her. On the following Sunday the Guru came to the palace,

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his body smeared with ashes, a staff in his hand and a wallet under his arm. Knocking at the door of Basla's room he cried *alakh*; and at his voice the palace shook, and the bracelets on the arms of Basla clinked together so that she woke startled from her sleep. Rising from her couch, she drew water from the well for him and brought refreshment, placing it in a dish taken from the wallet of the Guru. But though she brought food from morning until evening, she could not fill the dish and she marvelled greatly at the miracle. Then the Guru taking two peas from the wallet placed them on the dish and presently it was filled with food.

"After this he blessed her, promising that she should bear a son. But Basla was doubtful, saying that a male child was not written in her fate and that she had still to see the Jogi who by blessing could give a son. But the Guru bade her to be of good courage and told her to spend 12 years in worship, to meditate on Gorakh Náth, to repeat his name continuously, to wash with her tongue the place of prayer, to sweep it with her hair and night and day to wear a white robe. If she did all this, then at the end of the period of penance, he would give her fruit to eat which would make her pregnant and she would bear a son.

"So the Guru left her and for eleven years she worshipped him as he had told her. In the twelfth year her sister Kasla, hearing of the virtue of her penance, took counsel with her religious brother, Sankhu, the serpent, and the two conspired to steal the fruit reserved for Basla. Sanku advised his sister to obtain the robe of Basla by some trick, and disguised in it to appear before the Guru. Feigning illness, she told her sister that she was going to the shrine of Gorakh Náth to propitiate the saint and she begged the robe from her on loan. So Basla gave it, and Kasla dressed in it appeared before the Guru, from whom she begged the boon of the twelve years' penance. Gorakh Náth, mistaking her for Basla, was at first angry and chided her with coming on a Tuesday instead of on a Sunday as he had bidden her. But Kasla deceived him, pretending that she had forgotten the appointed day. So taking two grains of barley from his wallet, he gave them her to eat, so that she conceived.

"Then Kasla went to her sister and laughed at her fruitless penance. Basla, she said, had spent twelve years in prayer to Bráhma and twelve years in prayer to Vishnu and was yet without a son, while she herself had gone to the shrine of Gorakh Náth and was already quick with child; and Basla feared that her sister had supplanted her. The following Sunday Basla, having bathed and decked her hair with jasmine flowers, went, dressed in her white robe, to the Guru's shrine, where she

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demanded the reward of her twelve years' worship. But the Guru was angry and blamed Basla for her greed, saying that only a day or two before he had given her the grains of barley to make her pregnant. So Basla knew that Kasla had robbed her of her portion, and her grief was such that the heat of her tears consumed the Guru's garment. And the Guru also was convinced of the deceit, and sitting at his place of prayer he blew a golden horn, at the sound of which the earth trembled and the rain began to pour in torrents. Then he swore an oath that the grain he had already given to Kasla would not bring forth a son; but that what he would now give to Basla would fulfil her heart's desire. So taking a root of the *som* tree, he gave it to the suppliant, telling her to crush it into powder and mix the powder with a little water in two cups. When she drank from the first cup she was to invoke the name of Guga, and when she drank from the second she was to invoke the name of Gugri. She was also to let her mare lick the stone on which she had crushed the root to powder, and, as it licked the stone, to repeat the name of Nila.

"After this Basla returned to Márwár with the root and did as the Guru had instructed her. When nine months were accomplished, she started for her parents' house, riding on a bull. But Kasla, knowing of her journey, warned her serpent brother and Sankhu bit the bull so that it died. Then Basla was overwhelmed with grief, but Guga speaking from her womb advised his mother to postpone her journey. So she returned to her husband's house, and the bull was restored to life. And in the tenth month a son was born to Basla and they called him Guga; but to Kasla a girl was born and her they named Gugri. The mare also foaled, and the foal they called Nila, and in after years it performed with Guga many prodigies of valour.

"After this it came to pass that Basla went to the Jamna river and while she was away she gave her child to nurse to Kasla. And Kasla filled her breasts with poison hoping to kill the child; but Guga, leaving the poisoned milk, fed on the blood of Kasla so that she perished.

"Then it happened that a Brahman woman, with a dagger in her hand, begged for the cow Kapila from Basla's husband; but he would not give it willingly and so she took it off by force. Now the cow Kapila had horns of gold and hoofs of silver, and though only five *paos* in weight it gave each day twelve maunds of butter and 18 maunds of curd. So the Brahman woman kept the cow for many years, until two youths named Arjan and Surjan rose as pretenders to the throne of Guga. Thinking that if the cow was taken from the Brahman, she would take her

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life and the curse of leprosy would fall on Guga, they conspired to steal the animal. Having succeeded in their plans, they shut her up and placed a guard upon her. When the Brahman woman knew of the theft she went with sword in hand to Guga and warned him that if he did not find the cow she would take her life and her curse would follow him. So Guga and Nila, his mare, set out in search, coming at last to a place where the cow was tied to a bed-stead with a guard of many men to watch it. But Guga, acting on the advice of Nila, prayed to Gorakh Náth and by his power the cow broke from its guard. So he took it to the Brahman woman who removed her curse and bade him take the cow to the Ganges and bathe it therein. And when Guga was there, the army of his enemies came against him, so that he arranged his battle host. Nar Singh was his *Wazír*, Kailu his *Kotwál*, Hanumán, the leader of his host, Palya, the Jat, his bravest warrior, and Phita and Pheru among his followers. So the fight began and the army of Arjan and Surjan was scattered like the clouds of Sáwan. But Indra Ráj cut off the head of Guga and the tail of Nila. Yet the two continued fighting and the drum of victory was sounded in his honour."

Nar Singh and Kailu.

It will be observed that in the above account, as also in the popular estimation, Nar Singh, whose cult is prevalent in Kángra and the adjacent portions of Mandi, is described as the *Wazír* of Guga and this would make him of serpent origin. In the Kángra Gazetteer he is referred to as the lion incarnation of Vishnu, but there is in the hills a very curious confusion between the Nágs and various forms of Vishnu. Narain, for instance, is a very common name for a serpent god, and it appears to be probable that Vishnuism is an early off-shoot from snake worship. In Mandi, as in Kángra, Nar Singh is the god of the women, whom he is supposed to visit in dreams. He is the ideal type of the divine lover and appears in the form of a handsome Brahman dressed in clothes as white as snow, with a red turban, flowered and crested, on his head, a *dhoti* reaching to his knees, wooden shoes on his feet and garlands of jasmine round his neck. He is specially venerated by childless women and *maqámís* often refer those desirous of male children to his mercy.

Kailu is the *Kotwál* of Guga and is much feared. Seizures by him are very violent and hysteria among women is attributed to his attentions. He is very arbitrary and capricious, and it is amusing to find that the people attribute his failings to the office he holds, likening his qualities to those of his human counterpart. "Give an underling a little power," they say, "and he is a nuisance to every one":—"Put a beggar on horseback, etc."

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The Siddhs.

The Siddhs are widely venerated, and as in Hoshiárpur their shrines are often found on the tops of hills. The compiler of the Hoshiárpur Gazetteer describes them as the local divinities of the outer Himalayas and to a limited extent this is true of the western and northern parts of Mandi, but they are practically unknown in the higher hills, and even where their cult is popular they are as much household as local deities. The origin of the cult is obscure. Some describe the Siddhs as holy men, but they are often found associated with Shiva worship and this is particularly the case in the Bhangál and neighbouring *wazíris* where a famous shrine of Bálak Rúpi is situated. This god is generally recognised as a manifestation of Shiva. But in the courtyard of most houses in the tract is a small shrine of the type usually dedicated to a Siddh. Sometimes the people describe it as one in honour of a Siddh and at others as in honour of Bálak Rúpi. This confusion would seem to show that the veneration of the Siddhs is a branch of Shivaism.

The domestic shrine of a Siddh usually stands on a solid base about four feet from the ground. It is open in the front and is roofed with slates. Sometimes the shrine contains an image and sometimes only the foot-marks of the Siddh. Such marks have been described as those of Budha, but the identification is very improbable, and it may be noted that they are not peculiar to the Siddhs. At the main approaches to a village, or at a short distance from a temple, pillars will often be seen surmounted with a flat slab of stone on which are carved foot-marks, a tiger and a trident. These are sacred to Devi and their object is generally to invoke her power against any evil influence which may approach the temple or village. Sometimes such pillars appear to represent the path by which the presiding spirit has entered his temple, or to act as sign-posts by which he may find his way when he goes on a journey.

To return to the shrines of the Siddhs. The symbolic offerings usually seen there are the pastoral crook, the wooden sandals of the ascetic and his wooden arm-rest which, when not in use, he carries over his shoulder. The first fruits of harvest are offered at the shrine and a Siddh is supposed to protect his votaries from illness and other calamities. He often possesses people and this is a sign that they must devote themselves to his service. The symbol of dedication is a pair of diminutive silver horns attached to a thread worn round the neck. These are worn for the rest of the man's life, and he must also make regular offerings at the shrine of the Siddh, but generally no other services are demanded. Sometimes, when a suppliant vows an offering to the god if a certain boon is granted, he will wear a necklet

either of string or rice-straw until the compact has been fulfilled by both parties. He is then at liberty to remove it.

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The Siddhs.

The local shrines of the Siddhs are greatly frequented by women, Sunday being the most popular day of worship. Like Nar Singh, the Siddh bestows progeny, and children vouchsafed in answer to prayer are often dedicated to him, the silver horns being fastened round their necks soon after birth. They are henceforth the *sevaks* or servants of the god. Again, a Siddh is promised that a vigil will be kept in his name if he grants some request, and should he do so the members of several families—men, women and children—gather at his shrine on the day appointed. A goat is sacrificed and an offering of a loaf made. The votaries sing and dance all night, many of them coming under his favour and showing the usual signs of possession. No one must sleep so long as the vigil lasts.

The religion of the upper hills.

General.

The subject of Himalayan religion is far too extensive and important for justice to be done to it in the pages of a Gazetteer, and all that will be attempted here is to give a very incomplete sketch of its salient features. The key-stone is undoubtedly the *kul ká devta* or family god, and it is, therefore, unfortunate that the usual translation of *devta* as godling has obscured the prominent part he plays in the religious system of the hills. *Devta*, it is true, means literally a small god; but it is used not in the contemptuous sense conveyed by the expression godling, but to distinguish the minor deities from the *Devs* or mighty divinities who are too far removed for the daily worship of the people, whose religion centres round the ancestral god. The jurisdiction of the latter is both personal and territorial. He exercises sway over the hamlet, group of villages or valley recognised from time immemorial as his domain; but he also claims authority over the male descendants of his former subjects. His congregation is always described as *raiyat* or subjects, and the term conveys an accurate idea of the relationship subsisting between him and his worshippers. Males, as we have seen, are admitted into his following on the occasion of the first tonsure, while women definitely become his subjects when they marry into his flock. An hereditary subject is not absolved from service by change of residence, he still owes duties to his family god although he may, in addition, acknowledge the local deity of his new home. The obligations of worshippers include the contribution of grain or money towards the expenses of worship, the attendance of one male member of a family on occasions of special importance and a general obedience to the orders of the god. In return, they are entitled to a voice in the management of temple affairs, to access to the god and to participation in all communal festivals.

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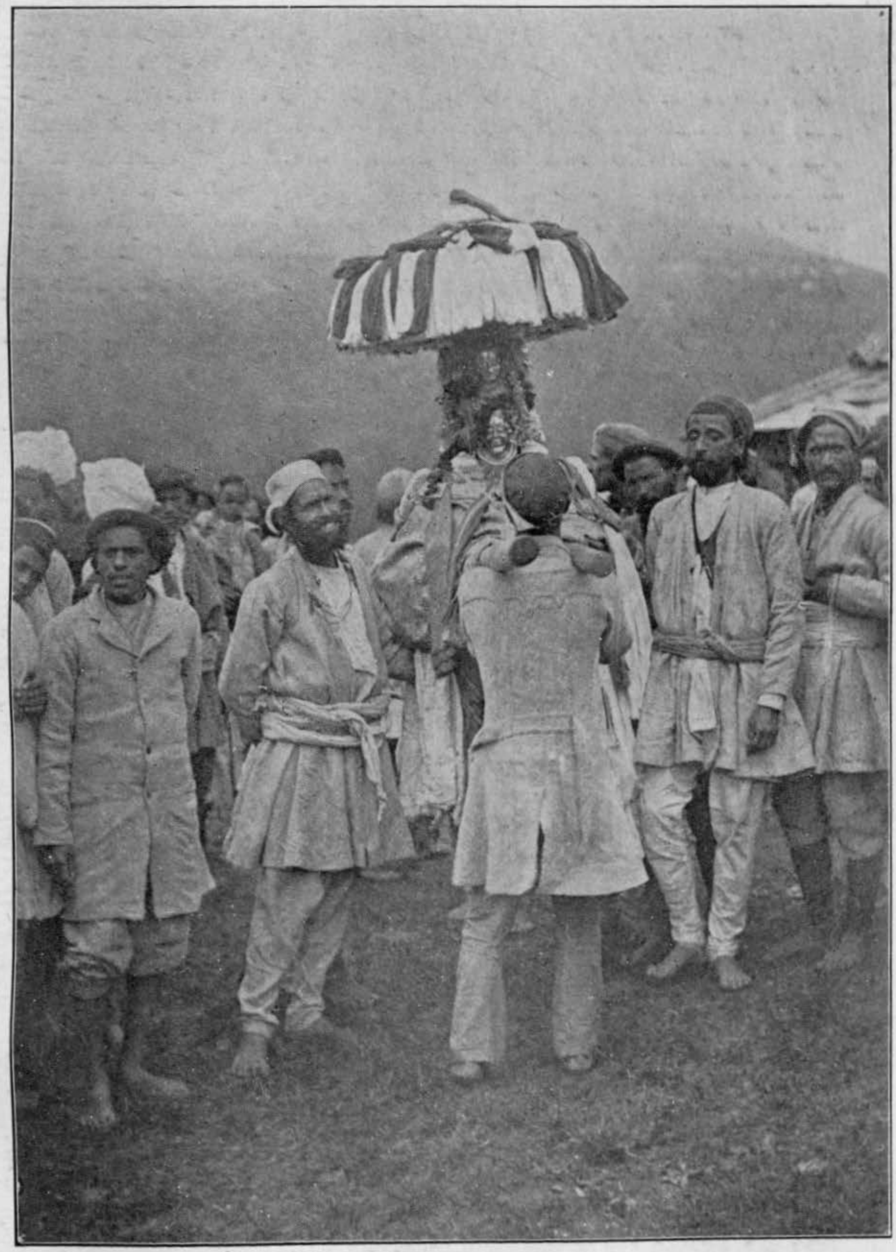
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In Mandi, the local gods are sometimes subordinate to a suzerain deity, who in turn is regarded as subject to Mádho Ráo, the national divinity; and all exert their powers through the favour of Shiva and Káli from whom they derive their strength. Parásar and Kamru Nág are types of divine suzerains. Each has under him a number of *devtas* viewed as his deputies. Though the subjects of the latter resort to them on ordinary occasions, they attend the festivals of the suzerain and the jurisdiction of the latter is enforced in several ways. Thus, in the case of Parásar, the hair-cutting ceremony is performed at his shrine as well as at the temple of his vice-regent; a new diviner of a subordinate deity is installed by him, and a new image is invested with life by him before it is placed on the god's litter.

The same system of devolution obtains in regard to the family gods themselves. Each has his spiritual ministers—the *wazír*, the door-keeper, the *kotwál* and so on. The *wazír* is sometimes a being of great importance, his shrine containing more votive offerings than that of his master; but this is as it should be, for, as the people say, the *wazír's* business is to deal with the ordinary affairs of the people and so relieve the god of the petty importunities of his subjects. If the underlings are sometimes arbitrary and tyrannical, they only follow the example of their human counterparts.

Nature of the family gods.

There is no doubt that the majority of the village gods in Mandi, as throughout the Western Himalayas, belong to the serpent group. This does not mean that they are necessarily called Nágs, although there are many whose name at once reveals their nature. Naráin is a common title for snake god, while others of the same cult are found masquerading under the names of Hindu divinities. Sometimes their true identity is difficult to discover, but usually the connected myths reveal their origin, and so widespread was the veneration of the Nág in early times that, where the character of a god is open to doubt, an initial presumption arises that he is of this class. The origin of snake worship has been the subject of many diverse theories, but it may be affirmed with certainty that in the Himalayas a very ancient, if not the earliest, form was the veneration of the serpent as the symbol of the river, and hence as the controller of water in general. The Nágs are to this day the weather-gods of the hills, the guardian spirits of the springs, the creators of the streams and lakes. Whether the worship of the living snake preceded its acceptance as the symbol of the river is a question to which no definite answer can be given; but, in any case, it was inevitable that the properties of the reptile should influence the evolution of the cult; and so while its connection



A hill god from Sanor.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

with all sources of water is incomparably the most important feature, there are other characteristics attributable to the veneration of the serpent as such.

Nature of the family gods.

Between Nág and phallic worship—as represented by the veneration of Shiva and Káli—there is very intimate association, and, as one might expect, local manifestations of one or other of the two partners in the work of regeneration are found as ancestral gods. These so-called forms of Shiva can often be classified as Nágs pure and simple who have assumed a Shivaite title; but it is otherwise with the *devís*, who, although found in conjunction with the serpent cult and closely related to it, appear to have been conceived as distinct divinities.

The above two groups account for the vast majority of the ancestral gods, and although others of a different nature very occasionally occur, very strong ground should exist before a *kul ká devta* of the higher hills is relegated to a different category. The theory sometimes advanced that "most of these deities are *rishis* or saints of the Hindu Mythology" may be dismissed as absurd.

The symbol of the god.

The temple image almost invariably consists of a *pind* or *linga* of stone and this probably represents the primitive idol. But now-a-days the most important outward and visible symbol of the god is his *rath*, a term which may be translated as ark, palanquin or litter. It consists of two parts, the idol proper and the stretcher on which it is carried. The latter is a high-backed chair without legs, attached to two long poles projecting for several feet at each end, and made of very flexible wood, usually silver birch. The idol proper is composed of a metal plate on which facial masks of gold, silver or brass are arranged in rows. Most of these are life-sized and generally represent the god himself, but occasionally a near relation is assigned a mask and sometimes there is a smaller image of Ganesh. On festive occasions when the god appears in his litter, the shield is placed in the stretcher and the whole is decorated with rich clothes, jewellery and flowers. Usually, there is a canopy of long strips of cloth or of yak tails over the shield, but some of the goddesses and a very few of the gods of Mandi do not affect this and in their case the idol is pyramidal rather than circular in shape. The idol is borne on the shoulders of high class worshippers, but with this restriction the bearers may be any male members of the congregation. Sometimes they wear gloves without fingers, and the attendant who has to preserve the equilibrium of the idol, when the spirit of the god tosses it from side to side, generally wears them. Each god has his own band of musicians. The drummers and cymbal players are usually,

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but not always, of low caste, while the trumpeters are always Kanets or agricultural Brahmans.

The symbol of the god.

The sign of animation by the spirit of the god is the oscillation of the *rath*. The bearers are under his influence, and their slightest movement is conveyed to the ark which dances up and down, sways from side to side and rushes forward in sudden bounds as his inspired servants feel the spirit strong upon them. Some of the worshippers are likewise seized with the divine afflatus, and tremble with possession or leap and shout before the idol according to the inspiration of the god. When more than one deity is present the interchange of greetings is always observed, and on such occasions the spirit is specially violent, the two gods bowing towards each other in an esctasy of delight. At the village festivals, and often at other times, the god and his worshippers join together in a dance. The idol and the musicians dance in the centre, while the congregation led by the diviner or an office-bearer circle round them. Some of the dancers are oblivious to their surroundings, but all are not under "the special kindness of the god" and if, as sometimes happens, the contagion of possession spreads too rapidly there are murmurs that the divine favour is becoming cheap. But th-re appears to be little conscious simulation, nor is there any occasion to practise it; for the hillman readily works himself into a pitch of religious excitement, when he is temporarily beside himself.

Divination.

The human medium of the god is his *gur* or diviner who acts as his mouthpiece. The *gur* lays no claim to original power; he derives his strength entirely from the deity without whose inspiration he is helpless. The office is usually hereditary in Mandi; but there are occasional exceptions and in all cases the deity is supposed to select his vehicle. A son does not succeed his father until he has been called, and a period of several months usually elapses before the call takes place. This takes the form of sudden possession, the first seizure being often of a very violent character. The new incumbent slays a ram or goat, and often drinks the blood in order to get into close touch with the divinity. Later he is formally installed on the divining stool, a low seat made of deodár wood, which acts as an insulator from disturbing influences and allows him to speak "sweet words with the tongue of the god." Where the office is not hereditary, a new incumbent is selected by one of the various forms of divination over which the deity himself presides; but always the fiction is preserved that the *gur* is a chosen vehicle.

The diviners are, for the most part, Kanets, but village Brahmans sometimes fill the office and occasionally Kolís are

found. The mere fact that a Koli is the mouthpiece of the family god of Kanets does not justify any conclusion as to the original nature of the divinity. The sudden seizure in the past of a low-caste man on the occasion of a vacancy would be quite sufficient to account for the appointment.

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Divination.

The diviners, as a class, labour under certain taboos. They must not cut their hair during office, must not wear shoes of leather and must not drive the plough or spread manure on the land. Celibacy is not a universal condition, though previous to important consultations of the god abstinence and fasting are observed. The *gur* delivers his oracles bareheaded, and in some parts of Mandi his chest also is bared, but local custom varies. Some diviners beat themselves with iron scourges previous to prophesying; others stick iron skewers through their cheeks, while both they and the ordinary worshippers, at times of great excitement, leap through fire or snatch up blazing torches. They are regarded, and regard themselves, as temporary incarnations of the god under whose favour (*mehr*) they are.

This form of inspiration is quite distinct from casual possession, which though sometimes the sign of favour of a supernatural being, is more often the intimation of his displeasure or enmity (*dosh*). The victim should then have the visitation diagnosed, and if it prove malevolent must arrange either for the exorcism or propitiation of the evil spirit.

The Himalayan diviner has not attained the position of power which might be anticipated from the nature of his functions. The hill-people are too canny and independent to escape the domination of the Brahmans, only to fall into the hands of their own priests. The office is not a particularly remunerative one, nor is it without its difficulties. If the dispensation of the god fails to satisfy his subjects, it is not he who is blamed, but his human mouthpiece; and unless the latter mends his ways he has to vacate his office. Ingenious checks are placed on the diviner's opportunities for deception. His business is to convey the decisions of his master, and to ensure the divine origin of the message his clients often keep him in ignorance of the nature of the judgment he is transmitting. To take an example. A man is afflicted with sickness and consults the god as to the cause. In this particular case this may be a witch, an evil spirit or the enmity of a god. So he makes three balls of mud exactly alike, except that the first contains a blade of grass for the witch, the second a twig for the demon and the third a little grain for the god. Having arranged these he calls in the *gur* who has been waiting outside and who, labouring under the afflatus, lays his hand on one of the balls. He then goes outside again and the balls

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are re-arranged, the case being finally diagnosed when the same ball has been touched three times. By such devices very definite limits are set to the extent to which the professional mediums can cheat their clients.

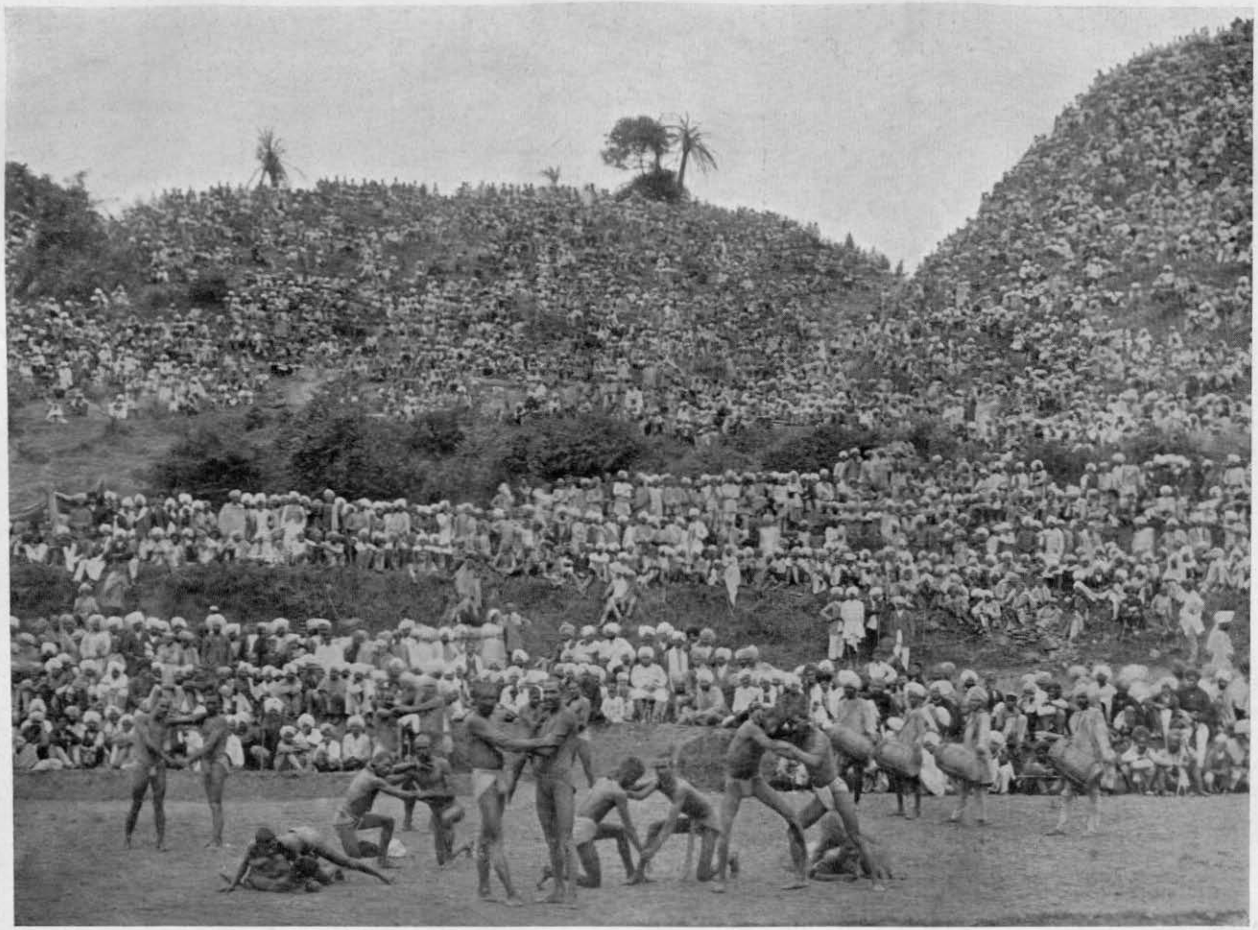
Divination.

There are also direct means of access to the god. Such, for instance, are the resort to oaths in cases of dispute with a neighbour and the making of motive offerings where a boon is desired for oneself. Both of these are of common occurrence, but present no features of particular interest.

Festivals.

The festivals of the hills are numerous, some like the *Bissu* and *Sairi* which celebrate the coming of spring and the ingathering of the autumn harvest respectively, being of an agricultural character, while others are of a more general nature. Such is the *kaika*, a celebration of considerable interest which is held at various places in Kulu and at three temples in Mandi. Its primary motive is the transference of sins or baneful influences to a human scape-goat, and thus to allow both gods and men to carry on their affairs under the most favourable auspices. Since the ceremonies illustrate various beliefs of the hill-people, I reproduce the greater part of an account of the festival, written for a more general description of Himalayan religion than can be here given. It is only necessary to remark that the principles illustrated in the *kaika* are by no means exceptional.

In Mandi the best known god in whose name the *kaika* is held is Narain of Hurang who lives in the deep valley below the Bhubu pass. Like most of the Narains of the hills, he is a snake god. Next to Kamru Nág he is the most popular weather deity of the State, and the large water-fall on the Pálampur road about 16 miles from Mandi is the work of his hands. This he made to water his cattle when he was wandering about in the guise of a cow-herd, and although it is some 25 miles from his shrine, he holds occasional festivals there. Associated with him is a *devi* or goddess who accompanies him wherever he goes. She has no ark nor images, her standard being an iron rod, but she has a diviner of her own who always "plays" with the mouthpiece of Narain himself, the two acting together, since neither the god nor his companion can exercise power without the assistance of the other. The main temple of the god, situated at Hurang, a small hamlet lying at the bottom of a deep and narrow gorge, is an unpretentious building now in bad repair, its chief feature being the figures of serpents carved on the walls which help to establish the nature of the presiding deity. About thirty yards to the east of the temple is a small shrine sacred to Narain and containing a *linga* of stone. Immediately behind it is a dense forest of deodar, oak, walnut and other trees, the



A wrestling match at Bhangrotu.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

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home of bears and monkeys which take heavy toll of the peasants' crops. The undergrowth is very thick, for no tree or bush is ever cut, nor may man or beast enter the forest which is sacred to the god whose spirit often rests therein. In front of the main temple is a flag pole of deodar surmounted by a trident, and this is renewed at every celebration of the festival, which is held regularly every fifth year towards the end of July or in the first few days of August. The chief actor in it is the *Nar*, so called from Narain the god, but now used almost as a caste-name to designate the few families in Mandi and Kulu who furnish officiants at the *kaika*.

Originally the *Nars* were of the Kanet community and they are still higher than Kolís, but the unsavoury character of their functions has invested them with uncanny attributes and they are taboo by the higher castes. The *Nar*, who attends at Hurang, belongs to a family once resident in the territory of the god, but a few generations ago it migrated to another portion of the State about 30 miles distant. He comes to the temple a few days before the festival begins, being entertained at the expense of the community. He fasts on the day preceding the observance of the main rites and after rigorous ablutions is dressed in a new suit of clothes. He is accompanied by his wife, or, if he is unmarried, by a woman of the so-called *Nar* caste, who is likewise provided with a new dress. Early in the morning, a tabernacle is erected close to the temple, four poles of deodar being placed at each corner and an awning of cloth stretched over the top. A sacred square is marked out on the ground inside it and small lamps and heaps of different grains placed in the several compartments.

The remission of sins begins early in the morning. The *Nar* sits on the ground on the edge of the tabernacle, while one of the temple priests offers the sacrifice of burnt offering close by. The companion of the *Nar*, or *Naran*, as she is called, dances and sings around her husband, interchanging remarks with the worshippers, which, like the songs, are often of a grossly indecent character. She has a brass tray on her head on which are several small lamps which are kept burning so long as the ceremony proceeds.

The *Nar* has by his side a basket containing barley and leaves of the magical *bekhal* shrub. First the god is cleansed, and, apart from the ordinary mischances which impair the power of Himalayan deities, Narain once committed so grievous a sin that he was smitten with leprosy. Only one finger, however, was affected and the periodical cleansing at the *kaika* prevents the malady from spreading. His litter, with the diviners and other

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servants in attendance, is brought before the *Nar* and any disabilities from which the god may be suffering are recited by his mouthpiece. An offering of a rupee or two is made and grain thrown over the *Nar* who pronounces his formula of purification. Then the god's servants are cleansed and after them the members of the congregation who press round the *Nar* waiting for absolution. The suppliants come forward one by one, each with a copper coin and a few grains of barley in his hand, the first being given to the *Nar* as an offering and the grain thrown over him. At the same time, the suppliant describes the sin or ill-fortune from which he desires release and casts it on the scape-goat as he throws the barley. One may be haunted by the spirit of an ancestor; a second may be afflicted by illness; the cattle of a third may have been overshadowed by a witch; a fourth may have omitted some act of worship to his god; a fifth may be under the enmity of an evil spirit; while a sixth may have suffered some bereavement, a sign that a malign influence is at work.

The individual ills are numberless, and, even where a person may be conscious of no specific peril or affliction, there are always the intangible powers of evil which hover unseen around every human being awaiting the chance to bring misfortune. And so the remitter of sins sometimes absolves the worshipper from faults in general and sometimes from a definite incubus; but whichever he does, he always throws leaves of the *bekhal* and grains of barley as he pronounces the absolution.

The ceremony occupies at least several hours, and on its conclusion the *Nar* is taken to the small shrine of the god on the edge of the forest. The diviners and office-bearers of the god and of the *devi* his partner accompany him, while those members of the congregation who are labouring under the afflatus—often a considerable number—follow close behind. The male worshippers of high caste remain at a short distance away, and behind them again are the women and people of low caste who are not allowed to approach beyond a certain limit. Having arrived at the shrine, the *pujári* of the god, who has not eaten food that day and who is wearing a new suit donned after special ablutions, stands within a magic circle marked in flour and from there worships the god, waiving a censer of incense round the stone image. He then sprinkles leaves and holy water on the *Nar* who presently falls down as dead. He is laid on a bier and a funeral shroud wrapped round him while the musicians play the music for the dead. Four men carry the "corpse" down in front of the main temple, passing through the crowd which is eagerly awaiting its appearance. As the procession moves slowly on, the people throw pieces of grass and twigs on the body with the invocation

that it may assume their ills. The priests and attendants keep throwing handfuls of flour into the air as oblations to Káli and her attendant spirits who are thronging above the bier ready to seize the victim. When the circuit of the village is complete, the procession returns to the shrine in front of which the bier is laid on the ground. The diviners of the god and goddess, as also the mediums of other deities who may be present as guests, sit round it in a circle, all being still under the influence of their spirits. Incantations are recited and prayers said to the gods to restore the *Nar* to life. After half an hour or so, he shows signs of returning consciousness and presently rises from the dead amid the congratulations of the assembly. His resurrection marks the end of the festival. He and the *Naran* are presently allowed to depart, taking with them the recognised perquisites of the rôles they have assumed—the suits of clothes, the awning of the tabernacle, the offerings made to the scapegoat and other gifts of *ghi* and grain from the store-house of the god.

At the similar festival in honour of Phungni Devi certain mystical rites form a very interesting part of the ceremonies. This goddess has her temple not many miles away from the home of Narain, whose sister she is supposed to be. She is a manifestation of Káli and the people identify her with Parmeshri, the great goddess, one of whose many habitations is on the snowy peak of the same name which stands out pre-eminent in the range of mountains separating Kulu from the Chamba State. Her home is visible for many miles and the Gujars, the nomadic herdsmen of the hills, pay adoration to her when they bring their herds for the summer grazing to the higher slopes. Looking towards the peak they bow several times and then immolate a goat in her honour.

In Kulu the word *phungni* appears to be another name for the *jogni*, the hand-maiden of Káli, found on every mountain summit, and is used to denote a special form of worship celebrated in her name. The peasants climb to a hill-top, where they sacrifice a goat, sheep or lamb to the *jogni*, and after worshipping her paint a large flat stone with different colours, laying on it the liver of the slaughtered victim

The Phungni Devi with whom we are concerned is the family deity of the village and is worshipped as the goddess of the Alpine pastures, being entitled in this attribute to the first-born of the flocks which browse on her preserves. Close to the Mandi-Kulu border, at a high altitude, is a mountain lake sacred to her. The water, so the people say, is as clear as crystal, its surface unbroken even by a twig or blade of grass; for the birds,

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the servants of the Devi, swoop down to the water and bear away in their beaks the flotsam of the lake. Her main temple is in a hamlet about 8,000 feet in altitude which nestles with its terraced cultivation amongst forests of blue pine and deodar. Her worshippers are under several restrictions. They may not wear shoes of leather nor smoke tobacco; and even her drummers are men of high caste, no man of low caste being allowed to approach her shrine or litter Even at the *kaika* festival the village menials have to watch the celebrations from the far side of a ravine. These take place at irregular intervals according to the means of the people. The *Nar* belongs to the same group of families as supplies the scape-goat at Hurang and comes to the temple with the *Naran*, his companion, a few days before the festival begins. He is treated as the guest of the god, being under the same taboos as the *Nar* of Narain, while special preparations are made to create a favourable environment in which he may perform his functions.

Three days before the date fixed for the remission of sins a member of the congregation goes to a certain forest a little distance from the shrine of the goddess. He belongs to a house whose ancestors were once the Thákurs, or independent chieftains of the tract. and his task can be performed only by a member of this family. Several villagers accompany him, but they have their camp separate from his, and while engaged on his appointed duty he has to live in strict seclusion immune from all possible sources of contamination. He stays in the forest for three nights, sleeping and eating alone and spending the greater portion of the day on the fashioning of four images of cedar wood, two representing sheep and the other two goats. He fells the deodar with his own hands and cuts the images out of the trunk. The carving occupies several days, for he must not eat food until he has finished the daily task. The images, however, are ready by the evening preceding the festival, and on the following morning he carries them, two on each shoulder, to the temple of the goddess, being met at a little distance therefrom by the band of musicians who escort him to the shrine. There he places them in the centre of the tabernacle where the diagonals of the sacred square intersect. This has been marked out previous to his arrival, the poles of the sacred tent having been cut an hour or two before with great ceremony. The cutting is entrusted to four or five subjects of the goddess especially appointed by her. These have fasted during the previous day, have well washed their clothes and have performed ceremonial ablutions. At sunrise they come to the temple, where the diviners of the gods attending the festival and the general congregation have already assembled. The diviners are all in a state of religious

ecstasy, and as their excitement is communicated to many of the onlookers, the village green is soon filled with men and women under the favour of the gods. A procession is formed, headed by the trumpeters and drummers followed in succession by the minister of the goddess, the diviners, others under the afflatus and the sacred axe-men. The common people, to whom the goddess has not vouchsafed her favour, follow at some distance in the rear. The destination of the party is a forest about an arrow's shot away, and on the journey barley flour and mustard seed are scattered in the air so as to drive away any malevolent spirits which may have joined the party. When the forest is reached, a cedar tree is selected and the minister (*pujári*) of the goddess first ascends it, waving a censer of incense amidst the foliage. He is followed by the axe-men who carry with them a sheep which they sacrifice in the branches, dropping the carcase at once to the ground, so that the demons, ghosts and witches which are thronging round shall seize upon it and leave the tree without infection. Then they quickly cut four branches with their axes, but these they do not allow to fall, bringing them carefully to the ground where they place them on their shoulders and the procession re-forms. The whole assembly, throwing barley flour and leaves of the *bekhal*, proceeds to the village green where a scene of wild excitement takes place. The frenzy of those already possessed grows more violent, while others in the congregation become animated by the goddess. Some wave branches of *bekhal*, others brandish axes and swords while the medium of the *devi* herself "plays" with two daggers, one in each hand. Four archers labouring under the afflatus are posted one at each corner of the green and loosen arrows towards the four quarters of the compass, so forming a barrage against those powers of evil which are not gorging on the slaughtered sheep. Finally, the crowd reaches the shrine of the goddess where the *Nar* awaits them. Taking the four cedar branches, he places them with his own hands at the corners of the tabernacle which is then covered by cloth supplied by the god. A sacred square is marked out beneath the tent with medial and diagonal lines, heaps of grain and lamps being placed in the compartments while the wooden images, as already noted, are put at the intersection of the diagonal lines.

When the frenzy of those possessed has declined, the *Nar* takes his seat just outside the tabernacle. The *Naran* dances about him and a few paces away the minister of a neighbouring god makes the burnt offering, grain and fruits of various kinds, sacred grass, *ghi*, and honey all being thrown into the fire. So the rites of absolution begin, and are conducted in the same way as at the Hurang festival. They finish about noon when

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the people take their food and the *Nar* is given strong liquor to drink. Shortly afterwards, he is taken inside the temple, being accompanied by the diviners of the gods who are now again in a state of possession. The medium of the goddess seats him on a low board resting on the ground and after a minute or two he simulates death. The board is then taken up by four or five worshippers and carried round the village, after which it is laid on the square in front of the shrine. Further "play" ensues, many of the large crowd, which numbers several thousand, showing the signs of divine inspirations, and after a litlte while the mediums sit down in a circle round the corpse. A goat is thrown across the prostrate body of the *Nar* and then sacrificed, a little blood being rubbed on the latter's mouth. The *Naran*, in the meantime, sings and dances around him. The diviner of the goddess waves a branch of *bekhal* round the *Nar's* head, while he and his colleagues pray to her to raise him from the dead. After some time he shows signs of returning life and the medium of the *devi* placing his hand behind his shoulder raises him slowly from the bier. As at Hurang, the resurrection of the *Nar* brings the festival to a close.

The third place in Mandi at which the *kaika* is celebrated is the temple of Adhi-Purak, a god who lives at the village of Tihri, about two miles on the Mandi side of the Dulchi Pass. The name which literally means *half man* suggests that the god is a manifestation of Shiva in his aspect of half man and half woman, but the peasants connect him with Adhi-Brahma who in Kulu also celebrates the *kaika*. They were, so they say, once the subjects of the latter god, the territory now including the two temples being then under the same rule, but when Kulu was separated from Mandi they cut apart from Adhi-Brahma's worship, taking half of his image and founding a shrine to house it. But the truth of this legend is open to doubt. Tihri itself is a large and prosperous village well situated on moderately gentle slopes, with a sunny aspect and fertile soil specially suited for the cultivation of barley. The temple is well above the village on a gentle slope with a few cedar trees scattered around. The courtyard is surrounded with buildings on three sides, that on the north being the inner sanctuary with a small cell which faces south and contains a *linga* of stone. In front of the temple is an open sward and on the west of it a small grass plot. To the east is the shrine of the god's *wazír*, Didami by name, who settles all matters too trivial to worry his master about, and whose shrine is therefore covered with scores of tridents offered to him as votive gifts.

The *kaika* is held with fair regularity, the usual interval between successive celebrations being four years; but the people are sometimes unable to entertain the crowds who attend the festival

so frequently as this and the period is then prolonged. The celebrations always begin on the first of Asauj, a day generally observed in the hills in thanksgiving for the autumn harvest. The ritual is very similar to that already described; but the *Nar* sits beneath, and not outside, the tabernacle when he absolves the people, and he himself selects the cedar tree to be used in its erection. On the evening before the festival begins, he chooses four or five men out of the subjects of the god to act as axe-men and taking them to a forest about half a mile from the temple he points to four small cedar poles which they then fell and carry to the temple. Very early in the morning, the *Nar* indicates the exact spot on the plot of ground to the west of the temple where the poles are to be planted, and the axe-men fix them in the ground. The service of absolution lasts for several days; for large crowds of people come in from various parts of the State to have their sins remitted, and the assembly contains not a few non-agriculturists who usually take little part in rural festivals. During the whole of this time, the *Nar* is allowed fruit and milk only. He is either obtained from an adjacent *kothi* of Kulu or from a Mandi village not far away, and he brings with him either his wife or a female of the *Nar* clan. Before the remission of sins commences, he is taken inside the temple of the god from which he emerges in a state of possession, with the ark of the god beside him, the diviner playing and the *Naran* dancing and singing. While absolving his clients, he has in front of him a drum-shaped piece of wood about two feet high, which for some obscure reason is regarded as essential to the proper performance of the rites. As at Hurang, the god is first cleansed and then the members of the congregation. When the time comes for the *Nar* to die, he goes to the shrine and having stood before the image for a few minutes falls down as dead. His resurrection is effected in the same way as at the *kaika* of Phungni Devi, a sacrificial victim being thrown across his body before immolation and its blood sprinkled on him.

Such are the rites of the *kaika* in which is represented the three-fold mystery of the remission of sins, the death and the resurrection. But the resemblance to the same cardinal features of the Christian faith is not so strong as would at first sight appear. In the first place, the remission of sins at the *kaika* involves a totally different train of ideas from that implied by the atonement and forgiveness of sins. The word used for the service of absolution is *chhidra* derived, I believe, from a Sanskrit word meaning "release" or "freedom from." The term is thus used for release from an oath, or purification from an infringement of caste rules or from ceremonial pollution, and is then employed in the sense as *chhua kholna* which means literally to

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open or remove contamination or taboo. In Kulu the release from an oath is a religious ceremony, the parties bound by it being rightly regarded as under taboo. The consent of the family god is obtained and a feast held at which the parties at enmity eat together, or a feast is given to which the disputants each contribute a goat and also give flour to the god's temple. Or, yet again, the parties go to the shrine of the local deity and there worship mother earth, the god being given Rs. 18 and a goat, which is sacrificed and eaten at a sacramental feast. But, in addition to the taboos imposed by the rules of caste and religion, or by a voluntary act, there is an endless variety of illusive and intangible influences which may affect a man's life. These are of a supernatural order and there is no single word in the English language which quite expresses their conception by the hillman. When conceived collectively he uses the word *greh*, meaning literally constellation, but popularly used in the sense of ill-starred fortune, and it is from baneful forces of this character rather than from particular sins that the people seek absolution at the *kaika* festival. The ritual is but a development on a large scale of the minor ceremonies of purification which are found in several interesting forms in the hills.

Again, the resurrection of the *Nar* is clearly an incident introduced as a mitigation of human sacrifice. There is no doubt that originally he was slain. The festival is still known as the *Narkan*, or killing of the *Nar*, and in Kulu the diviner of the god still shoots him "with an arrow in the breast making him insensible and a rupee is put in his mouth." At Hurang a rite is performed which suggests that the worshippers joined in his murder, their participation being regarded as an act of merit which helped to free them from their sins. When the *Nar* is taken to the small shrine where he falls insensible before the image, a curious ceremony is performed in front of the main temple. A large loaf of bread is placed on end, and the diviners of the gods with other inspired numbers of the congregation shoot arrows at it until it falls, broken to pieces. To hit the loaf is regarded as a good omen for the marksman, who is then cleansed of his sins. Having regard to the mimic death of the *Nar* as it still occurs in Kulu, there appears to be little doubt that at the temple of Narain the loaf now represents the former victim of ritual murder. In common with primitive people elsewhere, the hillmen believed that the removal of sins could best be effected by the appointment of a scape-goat and his subsequent death at their hands. His resurrection was an after-thought, a device wherewith the form of death was preserved without its inconvenience.

A few words may be said regarding the *Naran*. Was she also an object of sacrifice? Probably not; for there is nothing in the rites as now observed to suggest that formerly she was killed. She does not "die" with her companion, and while his corpse lies before the temple she continues to dance and sing. She does not lament his death and lamentation would be regarded as ill-omened. What then is the nature of the part she plays? For an answer we must go to Kulu to the temple of Jamlu of Mulána, a god who has preserved in his secluded glen many of the most primitive features of Himalayan religion. He also celebrates the *kaiká* and a feature of the festival is the dedication to him of a hand-maiden of the *Nar* caste. "There may be more than one hand-maid at the same time and though they are forbidden to marry they are under no vows of chastity. When they grow old they are replaced by younger girls. Each receives a gift of a complete set of valuable ornaments from the shrine. Their duties are to dance before the temple and to recite verses not always of a very pure character." The *Naran* is thus intended as the bride of the god and the nature of her office is still preserved in the title assigned to her. She is known as Síta, the wife of Rám Chandra, the great Hindu god and incarnation of Narain—an appellation which places her in the same class as the "brides, servants or slaves of the god," so common in Southern India.

As the *Naran* is the hand-maiden of the god, so the *Nar* is the servant of the god. He has always to wear his hair long in token of dedication, and though he ordinarily lives at his own home he has to attend the god at his festivals and to accompany him on his journeys. His title of *Nar*—the small Narain - suggests that he was conceived as an incarnation of the god and was slain as such. This, however, is uncertain and the people themselves will throw little light on the question, being naturally somewhat reluctant to discuss the inner mysteries of their festival.

CHAPTER II.—Economic.

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SECTION A.—Agriculture.

General agricultural conditions.

The chief industry of the State is agriculture, 81 per cent. of the total population engaging in it as their main occupation, while the great majority of the remainder are more or less dependent on land for a considerable portion of their income. Of the cultivated area, 21 per cent. is held in *málguzári* right by non-agriculturists, Khatrís holding 12 per cent. and Brahmans 7 per cent. The latter are mainly rent-receivers and take little interest in their land; many of them, indeed, have never visited some of the villages in which they possess revenue-free grants. The Khatrís, on the other hand, regard their holdings from a business point of view; the larger *málguzárs* have granaries in outlying villages and all of them exercise keen supervision over their tenants. As a class the Khatrís are not popular landlords; but the best of them have in the past assisted considerably in the extension of the cultivated area by the provision of capital and the settlement of cultivators.

The main characteristics of the agricultural tribes have already been described, and it may be said generally that for a hill State the cultivating body is unusually strong. With the exception of the higher clans of Rájpúts, the women take part in the agricultural operations, and in the Pahári Circle they do the greater part of the work. Ploughing, however, is always done by the men, partly because of religious prejudices and partly because the women are rarely strong enough for the work. In the Harabágh and Western Circles, and also in parts of the Darmiáni Circle, the people are industrious and careful husbandmen. In the Bahl the standard varies, the general average being brought down by the drunken habits of the lower cultivating castes and of many of the Kanets; but the soil is there extremely fertile and easily worked, so that the evil effects of slovenliness are not so marked as they would otherwise be The hill man is a fair cultivator only. Ploughings are often insufficient, clods are not properly broken and weeding is not thorough, far too much of the work being left to the women and children. But they are distinctly superior to the Kanets of the Upper Sutlej Valley, and there is no doubt that the heavy burden of *begár* which they have had to sustain in the past has seriously interfered with the proper tillage of their fields. The high and substantial terraces which define the old cultivation and the labour still spent on bringing new areas under the plough show that they are far from indolent.

Physical conditions.

The range of cultivation lies between 2,000 and 9,000 feet, and hence both the crops grown and methods of husbandry show

great variations. In all circles the most important factor is the rainfall, its distribution being of more concern than its amount, and it is rare that the former is equally favourable to all portions of the State. In the higher villages a full monsoon means that much of the soil is washed away, while a monsoon sufficient for them would be inadequate for the Western Circle. An early monsoon while welcome to the latter—if the fall is not excessive at first—means that a good portion of the hill wheat will not be harvested. Again, the lower tracts like the winter rains to begin in December; but the hills prefer to wait until the end of January, as otherwise the snowfall will probably do harm. Throughout the State moderate rain in March and April is essential, partly for ripening the *rabi* and partly for the sowing of early rice, a very important crop in all tracts but the Pahári Circle. On the whole, the distribution which would best suit by far the greater part of the State would be as follows:—Fairly heavy rain for a few days in the second half of June; a break of about a fortnight followed by good rains in July and part of August; a further break followed by good rainfall up to September 20th; a break for harvesting; a few showers in October for ploughing and sowing; moderate rain in December; good rain in January; some showers in February; and one good fall in March or early April. It is unnecessary to say that these conditions are rarely fulfilled; but on the other hand famine is unknown and a partial failure of two harvests in succession over a large portion of the State is very unusual.

Next to rainfall the supply of manure is the main consideration. In villages below 5,000 feet farm-yard manure is the chief source of supply, the litter of the cattle-sheds being carefully preserved. Cattle and sheep are penned on the fields whenever possible, and the shepherds of Kángra, Kulu and Bashahr who bring their flocks to the lower hills for winter grazing are in great demand. Grass is so plentiful that ordinarily the straw of rice, *másh*, *masar*, *kulth* and *bharth* only is cut and used as fodder. The straw of wheat, maize and barley is either left uncut or is only half cut; it is then either ploughed into the land as manure, or burnt in order to obtain the benefit of the ash. Above 5,000 feet the hillmen supplement these resources by accumulations of pine needles and loppings of pine, fir and spruce, which they first use as bedding for the cattle and, when thoroughly rotten, spread on their fields. The loppings are preferred to the needles, partly on account of their greater fertilising properties, and partly because they prevent the farm-yard manure being washed off the fields. The blue pine has, in the past, been freely lopped, for this purpose in certain parts of Saráj, and, in consequence extensive damage has been done to the forests. The opportunity

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Physical conditions.

was therefore taken at the recent Forest Settlement to prohibit entirely the lopping of this species except in regard to trees standing on land entered in the private *málguzári* of any person. The lopping of spruce and silver fir under reasonable safeguards has been allowed; and it is hoped that this, with the larger crop of pine needles which will soon be available, will provide ample manure of this kind. The people everywhere show a keen appreciation of the value of manure, and very little is wasted. The lands near the homestead naturally obtain the most generous supply, but the surplus is carried for considerable distances, while the practice of keeping cattle and flocks for some portion of the year at the *dogrís*, or hamlets, greatly improves the productivity of a portion of the outlying cultivation.

Local terms.

Differences of soil are considerable, but generally its composition is of less importance than its depth. Aspect, altitude, slope and proximity to the village are points on which the people themselves lay stress, and the local terms for different sorts of land mostly relate to peculiarities of this nature. The following are in common use :—

(1) A small piece of land on the bank of a stream which, though unirrigated, gets moisture and yields rice, tobacco and sugarcane is called *kátal*.

(2) Level fields free from stones are called *balh* lands. The soil is rich and with favourable rainfall gives excellent yields of superior crops.

(3) Fields made by terracing the hillsides are usually called *ghad* lands. They are also known as *gahri* or *gahru*. They are unirrigated and produce maize, rice, *mandal* and *sonk*.

(4) Fields formed on steep hillsides, where ploughing is impossible on account of the slope, are called *kutlu*. Instead of being ploughed, these lands are broken up with the spade. They are situated at some distance from the villages and in the hills are often very high. They give a fair wheat crop occasionally, or gram in the lower circles.

(5) Lands on the ridges of hills which are too high to bear any *rabi* crop but wheat and are under very heavy snow in winter are called *bharyái* or *sarái* lands. The crop ripens in May and June, sowing having taken place in August and September.

(6) The sites of houses are called *sawáru básí*.

(7) Garden plots adjacent to houses, on which vegetables are generally cultivated, are called *sawáru*.

(8) Cultivated lands on the sites of former houses are called *gharwán*. CHAP. II. A.

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(9) Waste land on hillsides, leading to a stream or forming a path for cattle to a stream, is called *gohar*. Local terms.

(10) *Nad* is a term applied to swampy land, which can ordinarily be used only for the cultivation of rice.

Irrigation.

Artificial irrigation is entirely from *kuhls*, or small water-courses, taking out from the minor streams or hill torrents. There is no irrigation from the Beás and very little from the Suketi, while the beds of their main tributaries are usually too deep in their lower courses to permit of large areas being watered. In the Harabágh, Western and Maidáni Circles there are, however, numerous streams, many of them perennial, which can be and are utilised. The water-courses are usually narrow and shallow, but the more important are carried for considerable distances. None have been built at State expense, but in the Harabágh Circle several have been made by Brahman and Khatri *málguzárs*. There is now little scope for extending the irrigated area. In the lower villages irrigation is done in both harvests, provided that this is necessary and that the supply holds out; but above 5,000 feet the water is too cold for the wheat crop, and its use is confined to the *kharíf* and to ploughing when the autumn or spring rains are inadequate. Where the supply of water is permanent, irrigation is most extensively used for transplanted rice ; where it is casual, being dependent on rainfall during the previous few days, it is generally practicable to give five or six waterings to broadcast rice during the monsoon period. In the *rabi*, there is little need for irrigation when the winter rains are normal, but when they are short and badly distributed, as during the past two years, the *kuhls* are extremely useful and the demand for water is large. Disputes are rare, rotations being fixed by custom and generally observed by all parties.

Sailáb land is practically confined to the Maidáni Circle, where floods from the Suketi and its main affluents often cover a considerable area. About one-half of it is double cropped, rice and wheat being grown on the lower lands and maize and wheat on the higher.

For the whole State the *kuhli* and *sailáb* areas are 17 and 1 per cent. respectively of the total cultivated area.

Crops and rotations.

The system of rotation shows great variations in different parts of the State, and according to the class of soil. Below 5,000 feet double cropping on the best lands is almost continuous, wheat following rice or maize year after year. Only fields near to the homestead, which receive a plentiful supply of manure, can stand cropping to this extent without deterioration, and for

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Crops and rotations.

land a little distance away, which gets manure in less quantity, it is usual to allow fallow one harvest in four. A common sequence on good *báráni* land is *kodra*, fallow, rice, wheat; or wheat, fallow, barley, maize or *kodra*. In the Harabágh Circle, linseed is sown after rice; while in the Bahl, where inferior crops are rare, either rice or maize, or sugarcane is the *kharíf* crop. Sugarcane occupies the ground for the whole year and is then followed by rice or maize. On land at some distance from a village a single crop is grown consisting of wheat or gram in the *rabi*, or *kodra* or *sariára* in the *kharíf*. On the steep outlying fields gram and *kulth* are reaped occasionally, and then a long period of rest given, in order to allow the soil to consolidate. In villages on the border line of rice cultivation the best lands are sown with barley, so that the crop may be harvested in time to allow the sowing of rice in April or early May; but this replacement of wheat is not practised below 4,500 feet. Barley is a very popular spring crop in the higher villages, where wheat ripens so late that no *kharíf* crop can follow it. Wheat is there sown only in the fields at some distance from the village site and on all outlying cultivation – sometimes several miles from the main village. Poppy is the only other spring crop, and this is grown on a small scale. The *kharíf* crops are mixed. Rice is impracticable above 5,000 feet, but the limit of maize is high. It, however, requires plenty of manure and continuous watching; so usually it is cultivated only in the close vicinity of villages. *Sariára* and *kodra* are less exacting crops and are cultivated freely, except in the highest villages. Buckwheats and pulses are grown on inferior and remote lands.

The cropping statistics for the different assessment circles cannot be regarded as reliable, since they represent the observations of several harvests only; but they afford a fairly correct idea of the relative fertility of different parts of the State. In all circles except the Pahári there is considerable double cropping. The following statement gives the percentages of the best crops on the cultivated area :—

Crops.	Harabágh.	Maidáni.	Western.	Darmiáni.	Pahári.	Whole State.
Rice	39	36	34	25	5	27
Maize	9	33	15	20	11	15
Kodra	17	3	21	17	10	16
Total *kharíf* ...	75	87	82	72	45	70
Wheat	45	48	50	39	33	43
Barley	4	1	2	10	15	7
Total *rabi* ...	55	55	55	50	49	53
Total of both harvests	130	139	137	122	94	123

In four out of the five circles, and for the State as a whole, the *kharíf* is thus the more important harvest, the main staples being rice and maize ; but the area under wheat is greater than under any single crop and in the Darmiáni and Pahári Circles barley is grown on the best lands.

Rice.

Except in the hill villages, rice (27 per cent.) is the staple crop of the autumn harvest. It is practically the only crop grown in the *kharíf* on irrigated land, and it is cultivated very extensively on *báráni* land. For the latter, fair rains in April and May are essential, both for the preparation of the land and the broadcast sowing of the rice ; but continuous rain or an early monsoon do harm by preventing the prompt removal of weeds. The varieties of rice grown are very numerous, but *básmati*, the best of all, is grown only in a few villages of the Hatli *kárdári* and in one village of Ner Kalán. *Begami* is more common, especially in the Western Circle from which there is a large export to Hoshiárpur. The other kinds may be classified as follows :—

1st class...*Jhinjhan, ram juáne, ranghri, pardesi, tota ram sáli, sukhdás, jhínwán, dhamkar,* and *rohan.*

2nd class...*Nikanda, jandarla, munji sáli, munjhára, ujla, játu, nikandí, gyali, gyásu.*

3rd class...*Sáthu, rora, katheri.*

The *rora* is a coarse red rice used for making *chátki* and *sur*, the local beers, and grows only on *báráni* land. Local consumption is generally confined to the inferior species, the rest being exported to the Kángra and Hoshiárpur districts and to Kulu. The *zamíndárs* believe that different seasons suit different varieties and hence try to ensure a certain outturn by sowing several kinds.

In irrigated land three methods of cultivation are used. The least common, called *láwán* (also called *oer* or *rehr* or *raoda*), requires a great deal of water and gives the best yield. It is the method whereby the seedlings are transplanted from the nursery to the flooded fields and is a laborious process. The usual method employed on irrigated land is called *lung*. Unhusked seeds are taken and allowed to germinate in moist grass; they are then sown in damp ground, and when they have taken root, the field is flooded. The third method is called *suka dhan*, the seed being sown into damp soil and left there to grow. This method is the one employed on rain lands and also on land that gets a little irrigation. It requires much time and trouble, as the fields have to be prepared with great care for the seed. In all these three methods the *zamíndárs'* chief reliance is on manure and again manure.

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Rice.

Rice must be carefully weeded, so, when a few inches high, the rice plants, together with the weeds, are ruthlessly uprooted by the plough and crushed down by the *mahi* or heavy leveller. This operation is called *halod* and destroys weeds, leaving the rice to come up with greater vigour than before. The other system of weeding is the *nidái*, and is done by hand and with the sickle.

Rice is sown in fallow land as early as April, and in other land in May and June. It is cut in September and October.

Maize.

Maize accounts for 15 per cent. of the total harvest. Moderate rain in April and May followed by a late monsoon suits it best, since the young plants cannot bear heavy rainfall, nor indeed is heavy rain later on good for it. There are two methods of sowing. The first and most wasteful is called *báhuwán*, handfuls of seed being thrown broadcast over the field. The second method, called *kerwán*, is the dropping of the seed, grain by grain, in the furrow made by the plough as it moves along. Maize is sown in fallow, or after barley or wheat. It is hardy and grows well at every elevation. Hill men prefer maize and barley to all other grains as articles of food. Maize is sown in May and is cut late in August or early September. As it ripens it has to be guarded night and day, as pigs, monkeys, bears, jackals, porcupines, crows and other birds and beasts eat it greedily. It is considered that maize allowed to ripen on the stalk will never be eaten by insects, but, despite this, to save it from the depredations of beasts and birds, it is often cut or picked while still unripe and put to ripen on the house tops.

Kodra.

Kodra (eleusine corocana) is the most common of the autumn millets. It is sown in fallow, and after barley and wheat. It is often seen with *másh*, and sometimes a little *sariára* is added to the mixture or sown along the edges of the field. It is sown late in May or early June, and weeded at the end of July. If it appears to be a thin, weak crop, *másh* is sown also. In August the *másh* is roughly cleared of grass with the sickle, and in October the *kodra* is picked, not cut. After this the *másh* is reaped. In the lower hills the bamboo harrow is used for weeding, and to loosen the soil so soon as the young plants are a few inches high. *Kodra* is a hardy crop impervious to the attacks of insects, and, provided that it is well weeded, able to stand heavy rain.

Sariára.

Sariára (amaranthus anardana) is most extensively grown in the hills, and when the spring rains are scanty takes the place of crops which have to be sown early. It does not do well when the June rains are heavy. It forms part of the ordinary diet of the hill people, but there is also an external demand, since it is

one of the few grains which may be eaten by Hindus on fast days.

CHAP. II. A — Economic. — *China, kangni* and buck-wheat.

China (panicum milia) and *kangni* (Pennisehim italicum) are not much grown, but are sometimes found with *sariára* and *kodra*, and are considered more palatable than the last-mentioned grain. The buck-wheats are grown in the hill villages only and especially on the steep outlying fields; the flour is bitter and unpleasant to the European taste, but forms an important part of the peasant's food.

Másh and *kulth.*

Of the autumn pulses, *másh* is the most valuable and is sown either alone, or as a mixed crop with maize or *kodra*. Its place is taken in the hills by *kulth*, which does fairly well on poor steep soil where no superior crop will grow.

Potatoes.

Potatoes do very well on the highlands of the Ghoghar-ki-Dhár near Jhatingri, but are rather small though excellent eating. The growers do not renew the seed, hence the quality tends to deteriorate. Practically the whole outturn is sold to traders from Kángra, Hoshiárpur and Pathánkot, who come every year with their mules and ponies and buy as much as they can get. The crop being a very remunerative one is growing in popularity.

Kachálu and *gandhiáli.*

For home consumption the edible arum takes the place of the potato in the European dietary. There are two species, the *kachálu* and *gandhiáli*, the former being preferred. Neither is grown on a large scale, but most persons, agriculturists or otherwise who have any land at all, set aside a small path close to the homestead for one or other of the two. The *gandhiáli* has a red stalk and long narrow leaves; the *kachálu* has broad leaves and a white stalk. Every part of both species stalk, leaves and root—is eaten, the tuber having the important merit in the hills of being very satisfying.

Fruits and vegetables.

There are no large gardens belonging to private persons; but the State has several which produce good vegetables and fair fruit. *Sawárus*, or garden plots, are very common and are found in front of most houses and shops. In the ordinary plot there are a few indifferent vegetables, some *sarson* or a patch of onions, a banana tree or two, perhaps some wild plums or pomegranates and always a marigold bush. The lemons and limes are of fair quality; but pears, mangoes, plums, peaches and apricots are all poor and unpalatable; bananas alone attain a good size and are worth eating. Pumpkins, gourds and cucumbers are trained over the roofs of houses; and in some parts of the hills a species of bean is grown, and provides a welcome change in the diet of the country people.

Wheat

Wheat is by far the most important of the *rabi* crops. Several varieties are grown, that of the higher villages being

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Wheat.

more hardy and giving a better yield in favourable years than the usual kinds sown in the lower portions of the State. It is, however, of inferior quality. The seasons for sowing and harvesting vary considerably. In the hills wheat cannot be sown much later than the middle of October, and above 7,000 feet does not ripen until the end of June, or even the middle of July. In the Bahl it can be sown as late as the end of November and is harvested in April. Moderate snow is good both for wheat and barley, but excessive falls in the late winter, or heavy rains during May and early June are unfavourable. With favourable winter rains the yields are large, and, even in years of unusually low rainfall, the outturn on the lands of the Bahl is satisfactory; but on the ridges where the soil is shallow the crop is poor.

Barley.

Barley is a subsidiary spring crop, except in the hills where it provides the favourite food of the people. Being harvested early, it is more secure against damage from rains than wheat. Its yield is also much heavier. Damage from hail-storms however is frequent, though generally local, and the people regard this calamity as one of the most serious misfortunes which can happen to them. The systematic propitiation of the hail-gods and hail-spirits—especially the *jognís*—is carried out in the spring; while if, in spite of this, hail falls, resort is made to magical devices to drive it away to some other village. In a few villages in Saráj black barley is grown, both the ear and the grain being black in colour.

Gram.

Gram is grown for local consumption in the Western Circle on steep outlying fields, its cultivation on this class of land being more profitable than that of wheat.

Oilseeds.

Sarson is not very common, but is found in small patches near houses, being grown as a vegetable rather than for its oil. Linseed (*alsi*) is the usual *rabi* oilseed; it is grown on the best land, irrigated and unirrigated, in large fields. The seed is thrown into rice stubble as soon as the rice has been cut. Linseed is grown for its oil, which is used as lamp oil, giving a clear flame and little smoke, and as a medicine. The oil is extracted by Musalmán *telís* who get one anna for every 5 standard *seers* of seed they crush. The husk and the shell of the seed are also the *telí's* perquisite. He sells these in the form of oil-cakes at a good price to Gujars, who mix them with water and give them to their buffaloes all through the winter. The oil-cake increases the flow of milk, strengthens the beast and protects it from the cold.

Tobacco.

Tobacco is grown in small patches. Near Mandi town are large fields, and also in Ner Kalán *kárdári* near the Beás; but the best Mandi tobacco comes from the Bahl, where the moist

heat is more favourable to its growth. It is always sown in nurseries (*ori* or *palri*) under the protection of slanting hurdles. It is transplanted in February, and harvested in May and June. The flowers are carefully plucked as they grow, for seed and also to increase the size of the leaves and the flavour of the tobacco. The hill tobacco is smoked pure, but the tobacco sold in the city is mixed with *gachal*, that is the refuse of the juice extracted from sugarcane. Mandi tobacco is not well flavoured, and even a *Mandiál* will buy down-country tobacco if he can afford it or else smoke a mixture of down-country and Mandi tobacco. In some parts of the State tobacco is grown also as an autumn crop.

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Poppy is grown in small patches only in the three higher *wazíris* of the State. It is sown in October on the best manured lands, and the opium is gathered in May and early June. Both the cultivation and extraction are laborious, weeding and manuring being necessary for good yields and constant attention essential during the period of collection. Slits are made at evening in the poppy heads and the exuded juice collected the following day. The same head gives two yields. Hail-storms in May or late April and rain during the period of extraction often cause great damage.

Opium.

For the following account of the Kángra tea industry, the compiler is indebted to Mr. F. A. FitzGerald of Baijnáth :—

Tea.

"Tea was first introduced into the Kángra district through Government agency about 1850, when a Superintendent from the Botanical Gardens, North-Western Provinces, was deputed to report on the possibility of growing tea in the district. The report being favourable, plants were imported from Almora and Dehra Dun, and three nurseries started in the district. A Government plantation was started at Holta near Pálampur, which did very well, and in 1859 private enterprise was attracted to the district. With the help of Government land was bought by European settlers in several parts of the district and the foundations laid for the industry as it exists now. Prices for tea in the early days were very remunerative, and every year more gardens were planted out, both by Europeans, and, on a smaller scale, by native landholders, the latter estates varying in size from half an acre to 50 acres.

"Tea is propagated from seed, which is sown in rows in nurseries in October as soon as the seed is ripe; it germinates in about three months' time and is fit to plant out in the estate in the following July and August, when the plants are about 6 to 8 inches high. The distance between the plants varies from 3 feet each way to 5 feet each way; but some of the native growers plant closer than 3 feet. A pit is dug of 15 inches'

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diameter and of 18 to 24 inches in depth, and in this from 5 to 10 seedlings are put in a bunch. The plant at this stage is delicate and should only be put out when the monsoon is well established. Cultivation round and between the bushes should be commenced in the following winter and continued without interruption three times a year, namely, in the winter, in May, and again in July and August. With proper attention the bushes should be ready for the first light plucking of leaf in the third year. In the winter following, if growth has been fairly good, the knife can be judiciously used in pruning back the longer stalks, but this must be done with care. The outturn of leaf will increase each year, till in the eighth year the bush has arrived at full maturity; and if, up to this period, the plucking has been carefully done, the bush should be well spread out and have a good bearing surface. The bush will then go on leafing until it is from 18 to 20 years of age. After the knife has once been used in the third winter, the surface of the bush will have to be carefully pruned each year to remove all bunching and growth of small twigs and so prepare the bush for a fresh effort to throw out good strong shoots. The cultivation, as mentioned before, must go on regularly three times a year, and as much as possible of the estate should be manured in the winter. When the bushes begin to show signs of age, by the stems becoming a light grey and giving a small stunted growth of leaf in the season, it is time they were cut back or "dentaled," the most favourable time for doing this being from 15th June to 15th July. The benefit of the first burst of the monsoon is then obtained and the bush enabled to take advantage of the rush of sap and make a good effort at growth during the wet season. These bushes, under favourable circumstances, should be ready to pluck lightly about the end of August, when they should be tipped. Bushes cut back in this way require careful nursing for the first three years after "dentaling," and the same treatment should be given them as to the young bushes first coming into leaf. They should go on leafing well for 10 to 12 years. Tea grows best in a good clay loam and with proper cultivation there is no limit to the life of a bush.

"The leaf plucking begins in April each year and goes on without cessation till the end of October. The heaviest flushes are during the first period up to the middle of May and again during July and August. The labour employed has to be trained to pluck properly, as, at the most, two to three leaves and a bud of the shoot are taken.

"The process of manufacture varies for black and green teas. For the former, the leaf is plucked and brought into the factory, and put out on trays or racks to wither. This is carefully done, and the following day the leaf is rolled in a machine used

for this purpose called a "roller." After this process (which in the smaller native gardens is performed by hand) the rolled leaf is put out on trays covered with a wet cloth to ferment. This takes from 3 to 6 hours according to the temperature, and when fermentation is complete the leaf is put through the "Sirocco" drier. When fully dried it is fit for consumption, the only remaining process being to sift into fine and coarse grades, and pack and send to market.

"For green tea the leaf is brought in fresh from the garden, and is either roasted in fans over a fire or put into a revolving machine into which a jet of moist steam is turned. In about 5 minutes the leaf is soft, and is then put into the roller and, as soon as sufficiently rolled, is placed in the sun for a short time and finally dried in the "Sirocco" drier. The drying process in small native gardens is done in fans over a fire. The principal plant in the district is the China variety. The Assam indigenous variety has been tried by several estates, but it soon deteriorates and does not retain its good qualities."

The State owns two tea gardens, at Chauntra and Dhelu, both of which are leased to contractors, and there are several private gardens though none of great extent. The tea produced is not of the first quality, owing mostly to poor methods of manufacture, but for the last few years profits have been large and cultivation is extending.

Yields.

The yields of practically every crop show great variations in the hills, not only between adjacent tracts but also between neighbouring villages, and even in different parts of the same village. No reliable material is available for the determination of average yields, but attempts were made at Settlement to approximate as closely as possible to actuals. The following table shows the yields then assumed for the two most important classes of soil in *sers* per acre :—

Crop.	Soils.	Harabágh Circle.	Western Circle.	Pahári Circle.	Maidáni Circle.	Darmiáni Circle.
Wheat ...	*Kuhli I* ...	280	280	240	300	280
	Báráni I ...	320	320	240	320	300
Barley ...	*Kuhli I*	320	360	320	400	400
	Báráni I	360	360	320	400	360
Rice ...	*Kuhli I* ...	600	600	480	600	600
	Báráni I ...	400	420	360	440	400
Kodra ...	*Kuhli I*	400	400	320	400	400
	Báráni I ...	400	400	320	400	480
Maize ...	*Kuhli I* ...	480	480	480	520	440
	Báráni I ..	360	440	400	480	400
Sugarcane ...	*Kuhli I* ...	800	600	640	600	600
	Báráni I ...	600	480	640	480	480
Tobacco ...	*Kuhli I* ...	320	360	280	400	320
	Báráni I .	320	360	280	400	320
Sariára ...	*Kuhli I* ...	...	...	240	...	...
	Báráni I ..	...	...	240	...	...
Potatoes ...	*Kuhli I* ...	1,800	...	1,200	...	...
	Báráni I ...	1,800	...	1,200	...	...

CHAP. II. A.

Economic.

Production and consumption of food-grains.

The export of rice from the State is large and of other grain considerable, while in a favourable year large quantities of maize are sent away. The chief markets are those of Kángra and Hoshiárpur, but some grain is exported to the Simla Hill States, especially Bushahr, and to forest contractors working in Kulu. Inter-circle exchange is also considerable, the people of the Pahári Circle buying maize and rice—and even wheat in poor years—from the Harabágh Circle on the one side and the Maidáni on the other. In many villages the produce of the land is barely sufficient to support the population, and in some there is a deficiency except in favourable years. Especially is this so in the higher villages, where the failure of two harvests in succession occasions a shortage of food which has to be made good from other parts of the State. But, as a whole, Mandi is a large exporter of agricultural produce, which finds a ready market at remunerative prices.

Indebtedness of the agricultural population.

The floating debt is not excessive for an agricultural community, and in parts of the State, particularly in the Western Circle, it is unusually low. In the Bahl the chief cause of indebtedness is drunkenness, while on the Kángra border the high price of brides and the general extravagance of marriage expenditure make occasional resort to the money-lender inevitable. The hill men are thrifty folk, except on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when they expend cash and grain on the most liberal scale; in fact, the accumulation of a small surplus is the recognised excuse for a *jag* in honour of the local deity.

The prohibition on mortgages and sales of land without the previous sanction of the State, and its protection from attachment and sale in execution of decrees for debt, effectually prevent the undue inflation of credit, without any serious inconvenience to the agriculturist. The Khatri money-lenders have now to depend on harvest payments of interest, and since the rates of interest charged vary between 25 and 36 per cent. per annum, with compound interest on arrears, they rarely press for repayment of the principal. In this respect they are little worse than the *zamíndári* usurers who make advances of grain on the customary *sawái* rate, or 25 per cent. per annum; but the latter are honest and considerate in their dealings, while only too often the Khatrís are neither.

SECTION B.—Livestock.

CHAP. II. B.
Livestock.
Livestock generally.

The following statement shows the livestock and ploughs for each *tahsíl* and for the whole State, according to the enumeration made in October 1917 :—

LIVESTOCK CENSUS, OCTOBER 1917.

Tahsíl.	Bullocks.	Cows.	Male buffaloes.	Female buffaloes.	Young stock under one year.	Sheep.	Goats.	Horses and ponies.	Mules.	Donkeys.	Camels.	Ploughs.
Harabágh ...	32,272	35,227	1,089	8,945	17,904	30,281	41,272	207	41	8	...	9,859
Chachiot ..	19,652	25,587	131	960	10,144	33,314	33,456	14	4	...	...	6,853
Sadr ...	13,756	13,323	700	7,486	6,938	6,834	8,914	181	67	57	...	4,077
Sarka Ghát	28,108	22,214	1,065	17,609	16,289	15,530	29,918	168	39	...	...	10,556
Total ...	93,788	96,351	2,985	35,000	51,275	85,959	113,560	570	151	65	...	31,345

A strong feature is the large number of buffaloes, especially in the Sarka Ghát and Harabágh *tahsils,* where the income from this source is large. In the hills the flocks compensate for the absence of profitable herds and there is a brisk trade in live animals with the Simla butchers. Prices have gone up rapidly during recent years and are still increasing. The price of a goat varies from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 and of a sheep from Rs 2 to Rs. 9. Agricultural stock and ploughs are adequate. The former are mostly of local breed, but a few large bullocks are imported into the Bahl. There is also a small but growing trade with the plains. Dealers bring up young stock which it is unprofitable to stall feed and sell them at low prices to local *zamíndárs ;* the latter keep them for a few years when they re-sell them at a handsome profit to the dealers. This is a trade which might be developed to the mutual advantage of the Punjab and Mandi, since the cost of maintenance is almost negligible here and the free life in the hills develops bone and muscle.

The price of bullocks in the Bahl varies from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60, and is rising ; but of the ordinary hill bullock it is rarely more than Rs. 25 and may be as low as Rs. 10. The price of a cow runs from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30 ; but it is exceptional for one to give more than 2 *sers* of milk a day. The cattle, though small, are hardy. The average bullock is yoked to the plough when 4 years old and remains serviceable for 6 or 7 years. The cost of keep is negligible, except in the Bahl, where the cattle are partly

CHAP. II. B.
Livestock.
Livestock generally.

stall fed. Elsewhere, the only expenditure is the food of the old woman or boy who tends them, and he or she often takes care of the herds of several owners. Summer and autumn grazing are ample, while in the winter the large stocks of hay, supplemented by the loppings of broad-leaved trees, afford adequate sustenance. The direct profits, on the other hand, are not large; but as a source of manure the cattle are invaluable.

The buffaloes of Mandi are a lucrative source of profit. *Ghi* now sells at Re. 1 per *ser* and the owner will not sell for less. There is a very strong market, dealers coming from the plains and Simla to purchase all available stocks. The cost of maintenance, though greater than that of a cow, is not large. Ordinarily the buffalo has to depend on grass and tree-loppings, but when it calves it is given a single feed of a quarter of a *ser* of *ghi* and for one month a *ser* of wheat daily. A substantial owner may continue the grain for so long as the animal is in milk and will occasionally give oil-cake. The price of buffaloes has risen greatly during recent years and now varies from Rs. 40 to Rs. 80.

Sheep are kept mainly for their wool. Their milk is not ordinarily drunk, but is sometimes used as medicine for throat and mouth complaints. A sheep is usually shorn twice yearly, but some are shorn three times. The average yield is 1 *ser* during the year. There is little export of wool, the outturn being used for local clothing or woven into blankets or *pattus*, some of which are sold to dealers at the religious fairs. The trade in livestock with Simla is large.

Goats are kept for sale to butchers and also for their hair. The latter is woven into blankets or the rough sleeveless coats—*sela*—worn by *zamíndárs* in the rains.

Grass lands and waste.

Mandi is peculiarly rich in wide grazing areas and luxuriant grass slopes. The grazing grounds proper are open to use by the people all the year round and generally are in excess of local requirements. The State is thus able to let areas to outsiders on annual lease both for cattle grazing and sheep and goat browsing. In the lower hills, pasturage is available for the flocks of Kulu and Kángra in the cold weather, while those of Suket move up to the higher hills in the summer. Muhammadan Gujars graze their buffaloes inside the State the whole year, moving from one ground to another with the change of season, and Kángra Labánas graze the Goghar-ki-Dhár during the rains. Owners of cattle resident in the State do not move from their villages when this is avoidable; but those of Ner Kalan, Bahl and Anantpur take their herds to the neighbouring ridges during the rains. The shepherds of the State go to the Alpine pastures in

the summer, but during the winter usually keep their flocks round the villages. CHAP. II. B. Livestock.

Throughout the State are grass lands, called *ruta* or *kharetar*, with individual rights of user. These are closed to all grazing during the rains, but thrown open again on the *Sairi* festival—middle of September. The grass, which is of excellent quality, is cut during September and October, as far as possible, and stored as fodder for winter use. The grass so cut is known as *sarlu* and preserves its greenness for some months; that cut later is not so nourishing and is known as *kattal*. The people attach great value to their hay-fields and resent any interference with their possession almost as much as trespass on their cultivated lands. During Settlement a large number of these fields were measured and private possession in the form of tenancy under the Durbár recognised; but the area recorded, although it is equal to 1/3rd of the acreage under cultivation, is far from fully representing the grass resources of the people. Grass lands and waste.

Grazing fees are levied on buffaloes, bullocks, sheep and goats throughout the State. There were, however, large differences in the incidence of taxation, and with a view to redress these, as well as to protect the State and the people against peculation, the system has recently been re-organised in the Forest Settlement of 1917, and rules issued under the Forest Regulation No. I of Sambat 1975. For buffaloes belonging to residents of the State collections used to be made in kind under the name of *kárghi*, the average levy being 2 *sers* of *ghi* on the birth of every buffalo calf. This has been replaced by an all-round fee of 8 annas per annum on all buffaloes of more than one year of age, and an additional fee of Re. 1 is levied for special hot weather grazing away from the villages. Non-residents and Muhammadan Gujars either take their grazing-grounds on annual lease, or are charged Re. 1-8-0 per head for summer grazing and Re. 0-8-0 per head for winter grazing, on account of all buffaloes over one year of age. For Kángra Labánas who bring their bullocks to Mandi during the rains the fee charged is Re. 1 per head as in the past, while that for Labánas of the State is half that amount. Grazing fees.

For sheep and goats the previously existing system showed many variations, some *ilaqas* being entirely exempt. In the hill tracts collections were made partly in cash and partly in kind. A uniform rate of Rs. 3-2-0 per hundred has now been fixed for home grazing and an additional Re. 1-9-0 per hundred for grazing in another *wazíri*. For outsiders who do not lease their pastures the rate is Rs. 9-2-0 per hundred. Various changes have also been made in the scale of fees for the grazing

CHAP. II. B.
Livestock.
Grazing fees.

of flocks on passage through the State, *ráhdári*, the new rates being approximately proportionate to the benefits enjoyed. All miscellaneous payments have been abolished and a quadrennial enumeration of all home herds and flocks instituted, the first of which was carried out in October 1917.

All grazing fees are now credited to the Forest Department, and in the year 1918-19 realised Rs. 41,810. Formerly they were credited to Land Revenue or Forests, according to the agency by which they were collected.

SECTION C.—Forests.

CHAP. II. C.

Forests.

History.

Until within comparatively recent years there appears to have been no systematic attempt to conserve the forests of the State. Certain forests had been regarded as *siyán*, or reserved, for generations, but many of these were closed to rights, not so much for the sake of forest conservancy, as for the provision of shooting preserves for the Rája, or as shelter belts for the old forts. The first regular demarcation was made in 1889 when Mr. Maynard was Counsellor to the Rája, and two classes of forest were created, *viz.*, *siyán*, or demarcated and *bartan*, or undemarcated. Mr. Maynard also had prepared for the whole State a forest *jamabandi*, in which were entered the names of the villages and the *bartan* forests from which they could obtain trees. A forest establishment was created consisting of a *jamadár* and four *náib-jamadárs*, under whom were *rákhas*, selected from the local villagers, who were exempted from *begár* and held responsible for the protection of the forests. The opportunity was taken of framing definite forest rules regarding the exercise of certain rights of user, or *bartan* as they are called in Mandi. The grant of timber was systematised, the lopping of deodar prohibited, and that of other conifers restricted, while the barking of trees for charcoal making and the removal of torch wood from green trees were stopped. Speaking generally, Mr. Maynard's rules brought the forests under more efficient control ; but neither they nor the *jamabandi* pretended to be a regular forest Settlement.

Nor had any attempt been made to place the forests under a regular system of management. Previous to 1880, few of the Mandi forests seem to have been exploited. Indiscriminate fellings had been made by the villagers for local needs, and a few of the more accessible forests had been worked by a company of Sikh traders. In 1880 a lease of the whole of the deodár forests in the State was given to the Mandi Forest Company, the main condition of which was that the lessees were bound to fell a minimum of 1,500 mature trees per annum. Considerably more than the minimum were removed, and during the last year of their lease no less than 10,000 trees were taken out of the forests in the Sutlej valley. From an exploitation point of view the Company worked these forests magnificently. Their system of wet slides has never been surpassed ; and, but for their enterprise, it must have been many years before these forests, many of which were in those days difficult of access, could have been brought under working. Fears were expressed at the time that the forests had been permanently injured by excessive fellings, but, looked at after a lapse of thirty years, it can safely be said that the only

CHAP. II. C.
Forests.
History.

sufferer was the State, which, having disposed of practically the whole of its stock of mature deodar in 10 years, has since then had to forego the revenue it would have obtained from these forests, had the outturn been adjusted to give a maintainable annual yield.

Since then very little deodar has been felled for export. In a number of forests what were known as *nímsukhta* (half dead) and *raddi* (rotten or malformed) deodar trees were sold to local contractors, who, in conjunction with contracts for standing blue pine, also cleared the forests of the deodar pieces left unconverted by the Company. During the last ten to fifteen years, fellings for revenue have been largely confined to spruce and *chíl* and to a lesser extent to fir. Heavy fellings have been made in many of the spruce forests and the *chíl* has been practically worked out. In the case of the latter the contracts were given for *raddi* trees, and, as nearly all the *chíl* of Mandi may honestly be described as *raddi*, nearly everything fit for timber has been removed.

In 1914 Mr. H. L. Wright of the Imperial Forest Service was deputed from the Punjab to report on the condition of the forests, and, as a result of his report, it was decided to carry out a regular Forest Settlement and to prepare a simple form of Working Plan to regulate the management of the State forests. Both of these works were carried out by Mr. Wright before he left the State at the end of 1917.

The Forest Settlement, 1917.

The principle adopted in the Forest Settlement was that, although all land and trees growing on it are the property of the State and no forest rights exist against it, still, as certain *bartans* have been exercised from time immemorial to meet the domestic and agricultural needs of the people, it would be impracticable materially to curtail them. The forests were accordingly divided into two classes, demarcated and undemarcated. The former include all areas which it is practicable to manage and to maintain as forest. The latter include all other areas containing tree growth, which at the time of the Land Revenue Settlement were not entered in the *málguzári* of any private person; they consist of a number of small areas, surrounded by or adjacent to villages, and also large areas of oak and other broad-leaved species, for the produce of which there is at present no market. The essential difference between the demarcated and the undemarcated forests is that in the former a percentage of the whole area may, at any time, be closed to the exercise of all *bartan*, thus insuring the maintenance and the improvement of the forests under normal conditions, while for the latter no such condition has been imposed. For the demarcated forests a record of *bartan* has been



Forest Work.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

prepared, showing the villages entitled to *bartan* and the *bartan* they are allowed to exercise, while in the undemarcated areas the *bartan* will be governed by existing custom, subject to the general rules which apply equally to all forest areas.

The forests and the people.

The forests play an intimate part in the life of the people. At the higher elevations wood is used to a large extent in building their houses, and, where the demarcation is heavy, the forests often form a considerable portion of their grazing ground. Apart from grazing and timber, the forests meet the requirements of the people in many ways. Fodder and bedding for their cattle, manure for their fields, firewood, grass, wood for agricultural instruments, charcoal for the *lohárs*, tanning bark for the *chamárs*, and wood for burning the dead and for religious festivals are but some of the many ways in which the forest supply the people's daily need.

The forest growth.

Owing to the large difference in elevation between the highest and the lowest parts of the States, the forest growth varies considerably. In fact, practically every type of Punjab Himalayan forest is to be found from the high-level birch to the *shísham* and mulberry of the plains. The greater part of the forest wealth of the State lies in the higher hills; for, with few exceptions, the forests of the lower hills are economically useless as forest, though extremely valuable as grazing grounds, for which purposes they are leased to professional graziers at high rentals. The forests are scattered throughout the State on the higher slopes of most of the important spurs, and at the head of and on the northern slopes of most of the side streams. The chief factors determining the distribution of individual species are elevation and aspect, and, in mixed forest, aspect is perhaps even more important than elevation in determining the proportion of the mixture.

Deodar.

The most important forests are those lying in the Sutlej valley, which, from a forest point of view, is by far the most valuable part of the State. In the forests of this tract of country the main species is deodar, which occurs in large compact blocks. There are few extensive deodar forests except in this part of the State, though elsewhere there are numerous areas of a few hundred acres containing at present an immature crop. The deodar forests are rarely quite pure, and even apparently pure forests will be found to contain a number of blue pine and spruce, often in the form of scattered mature trees. As mentioned above, the amount of deodar varies largely with the aspect. All degrees of mixture are to be found, from forests of almost pure deodar on the warm southern slopes to forests at the higher elevations and on the colder aspects in which the deodar is

CHAP. II. C.

Forests.

reduced either to scattered trees amidst a crop of almost pure spruce and fir, or to patches of trees along the spurs.

Blue pine.

There is very little mature blue pine in Mandi, except in the shape of scattered trees among forests of other species. Most of the blue pine is in the form of poles from 3 to 5 feet in girth, or of dense masses of young growth. Owing to the heavy lopping to which it was subjected until three years ago, most of the species is diseased, being infected by the fungus trametes pini, and forests of this tree will be of little value until the present trees are replaced by a new and uninfected crop.

Spruce and fir.

Spruce and fir form extensive forests at all the higher elevations, and, although many of these forests have already been fairly heavily felled, there are enormous areas still waiting to be exploited.

Chil.

The Mandi *chíl* is generally poor; burnt over regularly in its youth, it is mostly stunted and of little use. As already mentioned, most of the exploitable material has already been removed. These heavy fellings have, however, given excellent results, and wherever the canopy is sufficiently open and the area has been protected from fire there is now profuse regeneration.

Condition of the forests.

The condition of the forests is, generally speaking, very good. The exercise of *bartan*, with the exception of the lopping of blue pine, cannot be said to have done much damage to the forests. Reproduction is in many places excellent, and in most places sufficient, although at present few of the forests are even nominally closed to grazing. There can be little doubt that the forests of Mandi have improved enormously during recent years, largely as the result of Mr. Maynard's forest rules. The amount of deodar has increased considerably and is still increasing. It is no exaggeration to say that in some places deodar comes up like a weed, and, provided that these young crops receive the care and attention they require, there is every reason to believe that the forests of Mandi will eventually be a far more valuable property than they are at present.

The scrub forests of the lower hills are in a better condition than many forests of this type in the Punjab, the reason being that under existing custom they are closed to grazing for two or three months in each year during the rains, which gives them sufficient rest to recuperate from the heavy grazing to which they are subjected.

Injuries to which the forests are liable.

The people of Mandi are generally very law-abiding as regards the observance of forest rules. The most common offences are cutting trees without permission and lopping beyond the half-height limit. A certain amount of damage is done by small boys and other irresponsible persons cutting off the leading shoots of

young saplings, and the barking and removal of torchwood from standing trees still goes on to a small extent. Fires are less common in Mandi than in the adjoining districts, the reason being that the principle of communal punishment is recognised in the State, and, if the offender is not forthcoming, the whole of the *bartandárs* are punished in the event of a fire taking place in their *bartan* forest. There was a severe outbreak of incendiarism in 1916, but previous to that there had been few fires for 9 or 10 years. As mentioned already most of the blue pine is infected with trametes pini, which makes the timber of little use for anything except firewood. The deodar fungus, peridermium cedri, is also fairly common, but, so far as is known, it occurs only in the form of "witch's broom" on the older trees and appears to do little damage.

Injuries to which the forests are liable.

There is little difficulty in disposing of any material marked for felling. A ready market exists for deodar and blue pine, and in forests near the river even trees of 18 inches in girth are saleable. Spruce also sells readily, and there is a steady demand for fir in limited quantities. The majority of the trees are sold standing; but in the Beás valley a portion of the outturn has to be worked down departmentally to Mandi town for the State depôt, where it is sold either to the Public Works Department of the State or to the citizens of Mandi.

Utilisation of the produce.

The timber is mostly extracted in the form of sawn scantlings and sleepers, though trees of under 3 feet in girth are taken out in the form of round timber (*gola*) in lengths of 10 to 14 feet. The timber is sawn in situ in the forest, carried to the nearest floating stream and then launched and worked down to the main river. Mandi, it may be mentioned, is fortunate in possessing for the most part excellent floating streams which considerably reduce the cost of extraction. Timber launched in the Beás is collected at Dera Gopípur in Kángra and then rafted down to the railway at Wazír Bhullar. On the Sutlej timber is rafted from Nangal, whence it proceeds by river to Rupar and thence by the Sirhind Canal to the sale depôt at Doráha.

Forest work is all carried out by local labour, of which the supply exceeds the demand. The people of the State have cause to be grateful to the Mandi Forest Company which first taught them this work. The money earned in this way must add enormously to the wealth of the population, for not only are Mandi sawyers, floaters and carriage coolies met with throughout the forests of the Punjab Himalayas, but they are to be found as far afield as Hazára and Garhwál.

Administration.

The whole of the State forests are in the charge of the Forest Assistant who controls also the grazing grounds leased to outsiders. The State forest establishment consists at present of four

CHAP. II. C. — Forests. — Administration.

Rangers, one Deputy Ranger, a Surveyor, seven Foresters, three *Dároghas*, thirty Guards and one hundred and twenty *Rákhas*. Two of the Forest Rangers are Dehra Dún trained (Lower Standard) and one was trained at the Punjab Forest School, where also two Foresters have been trained. A very good class of man is obtained for all ranks of the service. The Forest Guards' beats are rather large, but the greater part of the protective work is done by the *Rákhas*, local *zamíndárs*, each of whom is in charge of four or five forests in the vicinity of his home.

Revenue.

The following table shows the revenue, expenditure and surplus for the last six years for Forest revenue proper, excluding grazing fees :—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Surplus.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1912-13	60,452	10,164	50,288
1913-14	59,337	13,977	45,360
1914-15	50 153	19,397	30,756
1915-16	48,332	35,680	12,643
1916-17	65,471	34,873	30,598
1917-18	1,38,945	43,741	95,204
1918-19	1,38,943	39,818	99,125

Working Plan.

A Working Plan was drawn up in 1917 by Mr. Wright for the demarcated forests, which will take effect from the beginning of Sambat 1975. Although, in order to meet Mandi conditions, it has had necessarily to be simple in form, it provides for the forests being managed under systematic methods of treatment, and in all probability will result in the State obtaining a considerably larger income from its forests.

The demarcated forests occupy an area of 124,679 acres or $194\frac{3}{4}$ square miles which is roughly 16 per cent. of the total area of the State.

Grazing fees.

Grazing fees have been described in the preceding section: all income derived from this source is now credited to the Forest Department, whether collected by that Department or through the Land Revenue Agency. The total income realised under this head in the year 1918-19 was Rs. 41,908.

SECTION D.—Mines and Minerals.

Minerals.

The State is rich in mineral wealth, but owing to its distance from available markets and the insufficiency of roads the resources have not been fully exploited. Coal is found in parts of the Anantpur and the Kamláh *kárdárís* but an analysis by the North-Western Railway authorities showed that it is not suitable for railway purposes. Whether it could be exploited profitably for other uses is uncertain; but a reference lately made to the Geological Survey of India indicated that the deposits are probably only isolated pockets. It would undoubtedly be worth while for the Durbár to have a detailed geological survey made, and at the same time the possibilities of gold being present in exploitable quantity could be examined. Gold is found in small quantities in the bed of the Son, a tributary of the Beás lying entirely within State territory, and in other streams. The course of the Son is comparatively short, and, as the gold is almost certainly washed down from the hills, it is just possible that auriferous deposits of some value may be discovered. At present, local gold-washers laboriously sift the sand and obtain at the most a few annas' worth daily.

Iron.

Iron is found in the Saráj, Náchan, Pandoh, Chuhár and Sanor *kárdárís* in the form of crystals of magnetic oxide of iron embedded in decomposed and friable mica schists. The quantity is considerable, and formerly the *dhaugrís*, or iron-smelters, collected the ore after the rains when slips on the face of the hill sides exposed the veins. It was smelted at several places in furnaces about 2 feet in height and one in diameter. The furnace stood on an iron grating with a hollow in the ground below to receive the molten metal, and bellows were attached to either side. The methods of manufacture were very extravagant, owing to the large amount of timber required for the charcoal used in smelting, and the Forest Department found it impossible to meet local demands without serious damage to the forests. Smelting has therefore been stopped and the people are now dependent on imported iron. The local ore was apparently of high quality and Mandi axes, frying pans and griddles had a great reputation for durability and fire-resisting properties, many being exported to the plains. But the trade was on the decline, and in any case would have shrunk to negligible proportions within a few years. This is shown by the fact that an income to the State of Rs. 14,000 in 1845 had declined to one of Rs. 1,000 seventy years later. The coal and iron deposits are unfortunately in different portions of the State.

CHAP. II. D.
Mines and Minerals.
Iron.

If ever the Durbár develops the immense forces latent in the Beás and erects a hydro-electric power station at Mandi, there seems no reason why electricity should not be conveyed to the Sanor iron-fields and an immensely profitable industry inaugurated.

Slate quarries.

There are numerous slate quarries, but, for the most part, they are in out-of-the-way places and the outturn is used mainly by local villagers. There are, however, three excellent quarries close to the Beás about 15 miles from Mandi; these are now served by the Mandi-Pandoh road. The income to the State from this source is at present small; but, when the Lárji-Mandi section of the Kulu cart-road is completed, the produce of the quarries will be within easy reach of the plains by motor and cart transport. As the slates are of first rate quality, a large trade should develop. At present the carriage is in the hands of Labánas and Kumhárs, and the quarries are leased on contract; but even so the demand is in excess of the supply. Under efficient State management, these quarries should prove a very lucrative source of income.

Salt.

The State possesses very valuable and large resources of salt. It is found in the Ghoghar-ki-Dhár range above the Mandi-Pálampur road and is of extensive occurrence. In 1873 Dr. Warth, the eminent geologist, surveyed the region, and reports have, at various times, been made by officers of the Northern India Salt Revenue Department. In May 1915 Mr. A. English visited the quarries and compiled a very valuable report on their working, including in his review a resumé of the information available in his department regarding them. Many of the facts here given are taken from that report.

The history of the salt is obscure and different views prevail as to its geological origin, the most probable being regarded as contemporaneous decomposition. Taking off from the Ghoghar-ki-Dhár which runs almost in a straight line from the Dhaula Dhár to the Beás are spurs or flanking hills of a different formation to the main range, and it is where these spurs meet the latter that salt is found. A peculiar form of earth, known locally as *lokhan*, which is generally pink in colour but varies from ashy white to purple and red, is an index of rock salt, and may be considered as rock salt from which the sodium chloride has been washed out. Krol rocks, consisting chiefly of green and brown shales or grit of quartzites and limestones, are the principal rocks of the Ghoghar Range and contain the rock salt. At Gumán the formation found by Dr. Warth in 1873 was described by him as follows:—

"The salt is overlaid by not more than 10 feet of *lokhan*, then comes blue slate, then a seam of 10 feet of white quartz,

then brown slate, then 100 feet of white quartz and above this, on the crest of the mountain, mica slate and volcanic rock."

CHAP. II. D.

Mines and Minerals.

Salt.

But the *lokhan* covering the salt is often much thicker than in the case quoted above and this is notably so at Drang. Sodium chloride is the only salt, there being no magnesium or potassium salts. Dr. Warth's analyses gave the following results :—

		Gumán.	*Drang.*
		A piece of good looking salt—	A piece of bad looking salt—
Insoluble substance	... ...	18·25	30·6
Soluble ,,	... ...	80·65	68·15
Loss	... ...	1·10	1·25
Total	...	100	100

Good salt with 98·6 of pure sodium chloride occasionally crops out, and may possibly occur in large quantities. It may, however, be observed that the local demand is not for pure salt, and the Mandi product is still bought even when Khewra salt is selling as cheaply, or even cheaper. The hill people believe that Khewra salt gives them itch, and that their cattle die when deprived of Mandi salt for any length of time. This may be prejudice, but the suggestion of Mr. English is not improbable, that the local product contains an impurity of medicinal value. It is known to contain iron pyrites and these may furnish a tonic suitable to the local conditions of climate, diet and grazing. It would therefore probably be a mistake to attempt refining.

The area within which Mandi salt is used has naturally contracted owing to the extension of railway facilities, but the demand is still great and it serves Kulu and several of the Hill States as well as parts of the Kángra district.

Salt is at present quarried at Gumán and Drang—both situated on the Mandi-Pálampur road, the salt from the former being regarded as superior to that of the latter quarry. But salt occurs at several places elsewhere along the range. At Ghatásni, where the road over the Bhubu leaves the Mandi-Pálampur road, a big scar of *lokhan* occurs on the hillside above the road, and an attempt was made to excavate salt here about 10 years ago. It was not successful, and when a local rising occurred soon after, the *dáni*, or inspector, was put in irons by the reformers "for wasting public money." Again at Maigal, about 7 miles from Mandi itself, there are unmistakeable indications of salt, and Mr. English expressed the opinion that here is the best promise for a mine in Mandi. But so long as Drang is working successfully, there is no necessity to experiment at Maigal, where there would be initial difficulties of labour; but its possibilities should be borne in mind and Mr. English's detailed recommendations given a thorough trial when the necessity arises.

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Mines and Minerals.

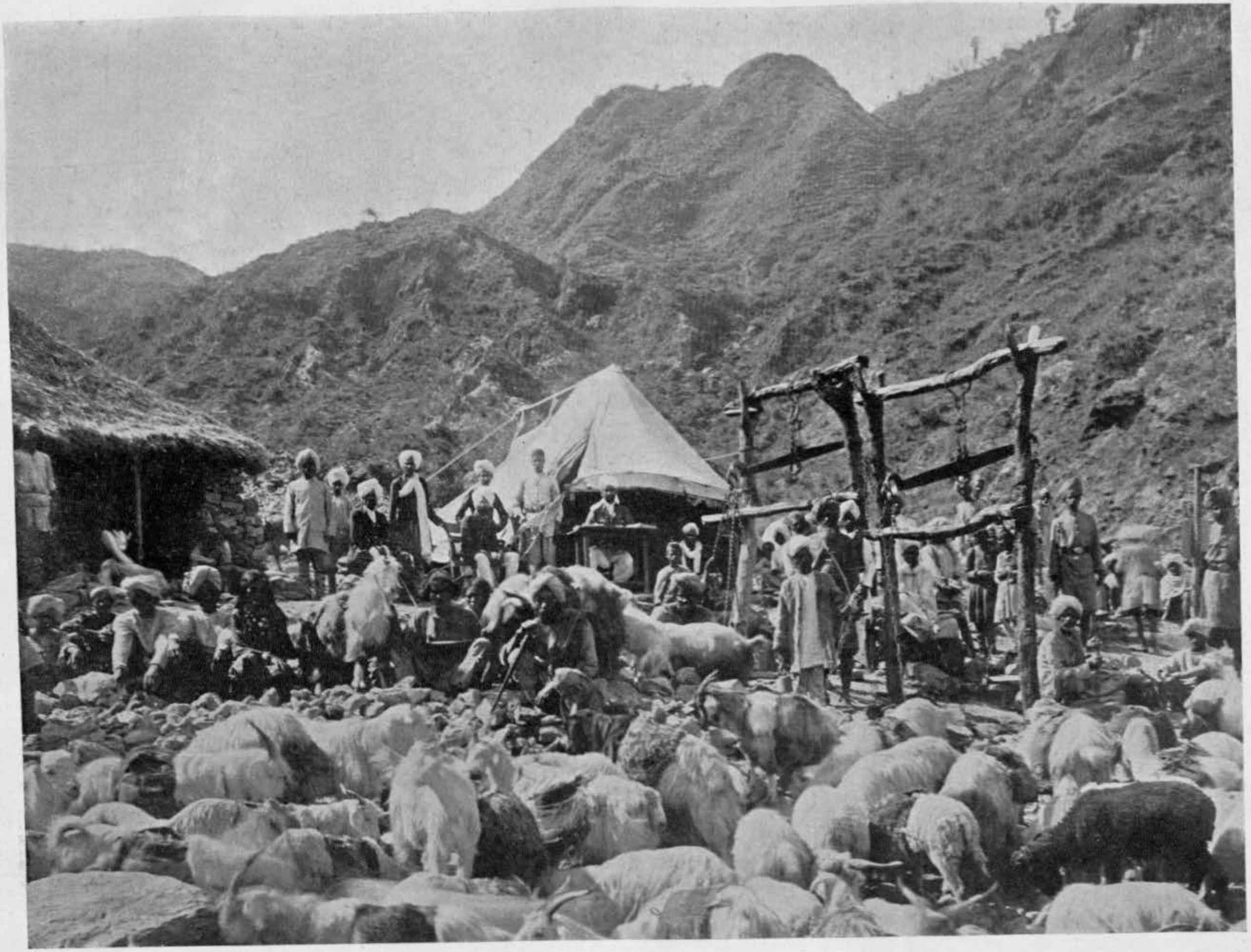
Salt.

When Mr. English visited the quarries their working was very unsatisfactory. They had been leased to a contractor, who misused *begár* labour, failed to give adequate attention to his duties and held other contracts Gumán was closed down, and traders at Drang had to wait many days for their supplies. The contract was cancelled on 1st July 1915 and the quarries taken under State management. Gumán was re-opened, and efficient organisation arranged for at both quarries. Since then the supply has been commensurate with the demand, and in 1916-17 the salt excavated and sold was 150,000 and 130,000 maunds respectively as against 76,200 and 76,200 maunds in 1914-15. It was therefore unnecessary, at the time, to give effect to Mr. English's proposals to mine instead of to quarry, especially as these involved large amounts of timber not easily available, and a change, difficult to introduce, in the methods of the workmen. But the present system of quarrying has the undoubted drawback that it is subject to serious interruption from landslips, especially at Gumán, and the present prosperity may possibly be short lived. Mr. English's recommendations should be tried when the occasion arises, and his report freely consulted, and not, as is apt to be the case in Mandi, entirely forgotten. Both the methods of work and the appliances in use are primitive in the extreme and tend to wastefulness. There is great scope for improvement in these directions, and the introduction of labour-saving appliances of a simple character would undoubtedly prove remunerative.

Under the present system an essential to success is an adequate supply of labour during the rains, without which the sources of salt for the rest of the year cannot be prepared. Formerly *begár* labour, with a daily allowance of about one anna, was used; but, since the abolition of *begár*, paid labour at the minimum daily wage of 4 annas is employed. Even with this additional expenditure, the net annual profit to the State should not be less than Rs. 75,000. In 1914-15, the last year under the contract, the income derived by the State was Rs. 41,025.

The following statement shows the revenue, expenditure and surplus for the past four years under direct State management :—

Year.	Income.	Expenditure.	Surplus.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1915-16	67,799	12,303	55,496
1916-17	96,606	22,463	74,143
1917-18	1,01,839	19,157	82,682
1918-19	96,385	21,904	74,481



Drang salt quarry.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919

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The State employees are known by various local names :—

Dáni is the inspector or head officer at the quarries.

Dhori is an overseer under whom the quarry labourers work.

The *bhatungru* keeps a register of attendance.

The *barhíl* or *godámi* keeps the tools.

The *batwál* places the weights in the scale when salt is being weighed.

The *jakhwáha* weighs the salt.

The *dháldu* is a mate or assistant of the *dhori*.

All workmen receive a bonus on sales on a scale proportionate to their pay. They enjoy certain privileges of a customary nature, and provision is also made for the proper propitiation of the goddesses of the quarries, a matter on which the miners lay great stress. The miners now earn very good wages and are comfortably off. They are, on the whole, good workers, but inclined at times to be a little fractious.

The protective establishment consists of two Inspectors and a number of peons under the general direction of the Commissioner, Northern India Salt Revenue. The apportionment of the duty and the protective arrangements are regulated by the *sanad* granted to the State in 1846 and by subsequent agreements. A history of these is as follows :—

(1) By section 7 of the *sanad*, granted to the Rája of Mandi on the annexation of the Jullundur Doáb in 1846, provision was made for the regulation of the price of the salt produced within the State. The section runs—

"In regard to the duties on the iron and salt mines, etc., situated in the territory of Mandi, rules should be laid down, after consultation with the Superintendent of the Hill States, and those rules should not be departed from."

(2) The price of salt was accordingly fixed at 10 annas a maund in November 1846, and this rate continued in force down to the 31st of January 1871. The Rája received this revenue.

(3) In 1869-70 it was brought to notice that the quantity of untaxed Mandi salt consumed in British territory was considerable, and to protect the salt revenue of the British Government, the charge made for Mandi salt at the quarries was raised to Re. 1-4-0 a maund with effect from the 21st February 1871, 10 annas being the price of the salt as fixed in 1846, and 10 annas being added as a duty. It was further decided that on all salt consigned to British territory, the duty of 10 annas a maund should be paid to the British Government. An establishment

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was accordingly posted at the quarries on behalf of the British Government to register the destination of the consignments of salt issued; and, in accordance with the results recorded, the duty realized was divided between the British Government and the Rája.

(4) Some friction between the Rája's officials and the establishment posted at the quarries resulted from this arrangement which was accordingly modified under orders issued by the Government of India, in a letter from the Foreign Department to the Government of the Punjab, No. 2654.-P., dated 12th November 1878. By the new arrangement, which was introduced with effect from the 1st May 1880, the duty of 10 annas a maund on all salt sold at the quarries, whether consigned to Native States or to British territory, was divided between the British Government and the Rája on the basis of the ascertained consumption of Mandi salt in British territory and in Mandi and other Native States, in the proportion of two-thirds (6 annas 8 pies) to the former and one-third (3 annas 4 pies) to the latter. The Rája continued to receive the full price of 10 annas a maund on all salt sold at the quarries.

(5) In consequence of the reduction in the rate of duty on salt levied by the British Government to Rs. 2 a maund, the duty on Mandi salt was reduced from 10 annas to 6 annas a maund with effect from the 1st of April 1884; and under orders issued by the Government of India it was arranged—

(i) that the duty on Mandi salt shall fluctuate with the British duty in the proportion of 1 to 5;

(ii) that the price of Mandi salt, 10 annas a maund, shall not be lowered without the previous sanction of the British Government.

The total charge on Mandi salt was therefore reduced from Re. 1-4 to Re. 1 a maund. The distribution of the 6 annas duty was continued in the same proportion; the British Government received 4 annas, and the Rája 2 annas a maund on all salt sold.

(6) In 1888 the duty on salt in British India was again raised from Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8-0 a maund; and on the principle stated in the preceding paragraph, the duty on Mandi salt was raised from 6 annas to 7 annas 6 pies a maund. This rate took effect from the 26th of January 1888 at the Gumán quarry and from the 28th idem at the Drang quarry. The duty of 7 annas 6 pies a maund was divided between the British Government and the Rája in the proportion of 5 annas to the former and 2 annas 6 pies to the latter.

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(7) In November 1889, the Rája was permitted to raise the price of salt at the quarries from 10 annas to 10 annas 6 pies a maund. The charge on Mandi salt per maund up to 17th March 1903 was as follows :—

		Rs.	A.	P.	
Price	...	0	10	6	received by the Rája.
Duty	...	0	7	6	Re. 0-5-0 paid to the British Government and Re. 0-2-6 received by the Rája.
Total	..	1	2	0	

A charge of 3 pies a maund was also levied on all salt sold to traders at the quarries to cover the cost of transport of the salt from the quarries to the depôts where it is weighed and issued ; but this charge did not appear in the accounts. Agriculturists and others removing salt in *kiltas* or headloads are exempt from this charge, but are required to work for one day without remuneration at the quarries.

(8) In February 1900, the Punjab Government proposed that the duty should be divided for ten years between the British Government and the Rája in the proportion of 3 to 2, as the statistics of the then existing consumption of Mandi salt in British and Native territories showed that three-fifths and not two-thirds of the total quantity issued was consumed in British territory ; and, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, the intention of the arrangement of 1878 was that the division of the proceeds of the duty then made should not be final, but should be subject to re adjustment in accordance with the consumption of the salt. The so-called price of the salt, however, is to a large extent duty under another name, and the Punjab Government, when recommending the adoption of the system of taking a fixed proportion of the duty in 1878, evidently did not intend that the proportion fixed should be liable to periodical re-adjustment, as it was proposed to abolish the registration of the destination of consignments. The Government of India therefore decided that the Rája had no equitable claim to revision in his favour of the existing arrangement.

(9) By the orders of Government received on 19th March 1903 the salt duty was again reduced from 7 annas 6 pies to 6 annas a maund. This took effect from the 20th March 1903.

(10) The duty was further reduced to 4 annas 6 pies on 22nd March 1905 and again to 3 annas on 20th March 1907.

(11) The present duty is 3 annas 9 pies, the enhancement of 9 pies per maund having taken effect from 3rd March 1916.

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Salt.

Of this the British Government receives 2 annas 6 pies and the State 1 anna 3 pies.

The present price of salt is thus :—

	Rs.	A.	P.	
Price ...	0	10	6	received by the Rája.
Duty ...	0	3	9	Re. 0-2-6 paid to the British Government and Re. 0-1-3 received by the Rája.
Total ...	0	14	3	

In addition all headload men are required to do a day's work without pay, and traders give an additional 3 pies per maund for carriage from the quarries to the place of weighment and loading.

SECTION E.—Manufactures and Industries.

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Manufactures and Industries.

Metal industries.

There are practically no Mandi manufactures possessing any artistic merit. The goldsmiths are less skilful than the *sunárs* of Kángra, but they make ornaments of the various designs popular in the hills and also silver or brass masks of the gods which sometimes reach a fairly high standard of finish. For ordinary work in gold their charge is Re. 1 per *tola*. But for silver ornaments the wages vary considerably according to the size and intricacy of the ornaments required; they do not usually exceed 4 annas per *tola* and may be as low as one anna for massive jewellery. The most skilful *sunárs* belong to Mandi town; but there are also village craftsmen who are able to furnish the requirements of the people.

Blacksmiths, as a rule, work in iron only, but the more experienced make ornaments of brass and copper and a few turn out metal masks of the deities. The chief work of the *lohár* is the manufacture of agricultural implements, for which he is usually paid at harvest with an additional food allowance on the *sankránt* of each month. For domestic utensils, griddles, frying pans, etc., and also for axes, he receives payment in cash or grain according to the quality of the work.

Carpenters and bamboo-workers.

The village carpenters, or *tháwíns*, are not, as a rule, skilled artisans; but they learn readily and the best find employment at wages up to 12 annas per day on State works, while a few earn more than this at Simla and other hill stations. The average wage is not higher than 6 annas per diem in cash, but the *zamíndár* who employs the *tháwín* on building has also to give him two meals a day and tobacco to smoke. The *tháwín* has nothing to do with agricultural implements, this being the work of the *lohár*, and he demands wages for all he does. He works in stone as well as in wood, and as already noted makes the stone images of the gods and also images of the dead—an occupation to which he owes his lowly position. The *barselas* of the Mandi Rájas have all been made by local *tháwíns* and the carving on them, as well as on some of the temples, reveals more than ordinary skill. But only the best artisans are employed on such works.

Bamboo has many uses as is shown by the local proverb :—

"*kanká re nán benjá re banán,*
idhirá kiya bakhán ?"

"What shall be said in praise of the many kinds of food made from wheat, and of the many things made from bamboo ?"

The large variety of bamboo is found in the lower hills where

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Carpenters and bamboo-workers.

itis used for building, the surplus poles being exported. The *nirgál*, or hill-bamboo, is found in the higher *kárdárís* and is also exported in large quantities. Locally it is made into pipe stems by *huqqa*-makers of Mandi town and into various articles by the *bhanjáras*. The latter are industrious but poor, the result of the demands made on them by the State for *begár*, which had to be met by the supply of samples of their handicraft as required. The making of baskets is their chief business, for the hillman has innumerable uses for these and likes them of all shapes and sizes. But the *bhanjára* also makes screens, matting and boxes for clothes. He receives payment in grain for articles used in agriculture by a recognised patron, and small cash prices in other cases

Weaving.

The hill people are very fair weavers and make their own woollen clothes. In several *kárdárís* there is an extensive trade in *pashmína*, *pattu* and blankets which are sold at local fairs or sent to Kulu and Hoshiárpur; those made round Panjain are the best. The blankets are usually made in check designs of various sizes, ornamented with strips of woollen embroidery in gay colours. The effect is very pleasing and artistic. The great fault in both *pattu* and blankets is that the looms used are very narrow; as a result two strips have to be joined together to form one blanket. The State has recently opened a Weaving School in Mandi town, where the use of the fly-shuttle loom is taught free of charge. It is hoped that this will give an impetus to the weaving industry and popularise the use of a wide loom with fly-shuttle. These improved looms are simple in design and action, and can be constructed by any skilful *tháwín* at small cost; the shuttle and such other small parts as cannot be locally constructed will be available from the State.

Fibrous goods are made in large quantities, the plants most commonly used being the cultivated hemp and the wild nettle. From the latter are made, amongst other things, the shoulder mats worn by the women to protect their clothes when working in the fields or on the carriage of loads. The hemp is used mostly for ropes and for the string shoes with rope soles (*pula*) which are worn generally in the hills. Other uses are for fishing and fowling nets. In the lower hills the fibre of the *bihul* tree takes its place, the stalks being well soaked in water before the fibre is separated.

Honey.

Most *zamíndárs* have a hive or two of bees, from which they take the honey in June or in the autumn. The latter is of superior quality and sells at about 2 *sers* to the rupee, or more than double the price of the former, which is of dark colour and bitter flavour. Apiculture is very imperfectly understood and with proper up-to-date methods might be developed into a profitable industry.

The distillation of liquor and the brewing of rice beer can hardly be regarded as industries, for the former is now confined to State contractors and the latter is mainly for home consumption.

Miscellaneous.

The trade in hawks is not so large as it used to be, but there is still a fair demand from the plains for young birds. The right to catch hawks is leased out, different contractors having the monopoly on different ridges. They employ *zamíndárs* to cacth the birds which are supposed to be produced at Mandi, and on sale half the price is credited to the State. Traders from the plains are the chief purchasers, but sometimes Indian gentlemen who require a good hawk will send a servant to the State in order to procure one. The methods of capture are much the same as described in the Gazetteer of Kulu from which the following description is taken :—

"The best way of catching hawks is in the *tháti*, which is a sort of triangular enclosure erected at a prominent place on a ridge or spur, so as to draw the attention of the birds. Poles are set up at the three angles, and two of the sides are enclosed with nets, but the base of the triangle which is towards the hill top is clear, the apex is on the down-hill side. A *chikor* is tied close to the ground inside the enclosure to attract the hawks by its call, and when one swoops down upon it a man who is concealed in a thicket close by rushes forward, and drives the hawk into the net where he secures it. Another method of catching the birds is by the *lárki*, which is a succession of nets set along the ridge or spur. Though the snarer gets a good windfall if he catches a young hawk, he is not usually successful in getting one more than once every few years."

Trade and markets.

Mandi, as the name implies, is a busy trade centre for the hills, a position which it owes partly to the considerable surplus produce of the State itself, and partly to the fact that it lies on the trade-route between the plains and Central Asia which passes through Sultánpur. Though the State itself has little interest in the Ladák and Yárkand trade, the passage through its territory and capital of many hundreds of mules each year stimulates exchange, since on the return journey the beasts of burden are not usually fully laden. Quite apart from this trade, the exchange between Mandi and the plains is large. Salt is exported in very large quantities, carriage being on camels, mules, ponies and bullocks. The latter are owned mainly by Labánas of the State, who also carry slates to the Hamírpur *tahsíl* and Biláspur, as well as grain to the Hill States. Timber, tea, *ghi* and potatoes are the other important exports; but miscellaneous articles, though of small bulk, are of considerable value. Amongst these may be included hides, hawks, soapnuts, woollen goods, violets,

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musk and medicinal herbs, of which *rasaunt*—a concoction of the root of the barberry—is the most profitable.

Trade and markets.

The imports consist mainly of European piece-goods, household vessels of brass, copper and other metals, gold and silver from the Amritsar market, *gur*, oil and country-made cloth from Hoshiárpur district, and a certain amount of Khewra salt. The shop-keeping business is mainly in the hands of Khatrís, but there are a few Bhoras; some Brahmans also engage in trade, while in some parts of the State *zamíndárs* have opened shops. It may be taken as an indication of the favourable trade conditions of the State that a number of shopkeepers from the Kángra and Hoshiárpur districts have settled here.

Mandi town is the only large market in the whole State. There are clusters of shops scattered over every *kárdári*, where the *zamíndár* can sell his surplus produce and buy simple necessaries. In the hills the religious fairs are occasions for trade as well as devotion.

Taxes and duty.

There are no duties on trade, nor is octroi now levied anywhere in the State. All shop-keepers and artizans pay an annual tax, which in the past was collected, with octroi in Mandi town, by a State contractor. Both the incidence and method of collection were arbitrary and irregular. Octroi in the town has been abolished since 1918, and a new assessment of shop-tax introduced throughout the State, the main feature of which is that it is based on the average estimated income of the shop and is collected directly by the State.

General economic condition of the people.

The economic condition of the people may be regarded as very satisfactory. For the State as a whole the production of food-grains is well in excess of local requirements, there is still a considerable area of culturable waste and outside sources of income are large.

The non-agriculturists, though dependent to some extent on land, have more important resources in service, trade and religious perquisites. Except in the Pahári Circle, where few buffaloes are kept, the extensive grazing areas permit of remunerative sales of *ghi*, while the absence of this asset in the hills is compensated for by large flocks and miscellaneous income, or, failing this, the satisfaction of necessary requirements from the forests. The Rájpúts and the Ráthís take up military and other service, while the Kanets and also the Ráthís obtain employment in Simla and other hill stations as chaprasis, peons and rickshaw coolies. A number work as casual labourers on roads and other public works. But the most important source of outside earnings is forest labour. From the lower Circles regular gangs of floaters,

sawyers and carriers go to Kashmir, Jammu and Chamba; from the higher hills they go to Kulu, Bushahr, Tehri Garhwál and other Native States. Small fortunes are made by the more enterprising contractors, who in many cases have begun at the bottom of the ladder, while the ordinary cooly engaged in sawing or floating work earns from 8 to 14 annas per diem. In addition, there is considerable employment inside the State. The salt and slate quarries, apart from the labour employed in extraction, support a large carrying trade; the exploitation of the forests—which will expand under the new working plan—returns to the people many thousands of rupees each year; and the tea gardens in the Harabágh *tahsíl* and in Pálampur employ many men, women and children belonging to the State.

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General economic condition of the people.

The obstacles to economic development in the past have been the lack of a regular revenue system, the arbitrary demands made on the people, and the wastage involved in the system of *begár*. With the disappearance of these defects fuller use will be made of the abundant opportunities for remunerative labour.

Measures and weights.

Measures of capacity vary from one part of the State to another, the most common being—

20 *pathas* = 1 *lákh*.

20 *lákhs* = 1 *khár*.

The weight of a *patha* varies with the kind of grain. The specific gravity of *másh*, *saryára*, maize, wheat and husked rice is about same; and the most common *patha* of any of these grains weighs about 4 *sers kachcha*. Barley, *dhán* (unhusked rice), *kodra* and *kangni* are of the same weight, and the ordinary *patha* of any of these grains is equivalent to 3 *sers kachcha*.

They are really seed measures and the same terms are used to denote areas also. Thus, in theory, a field receiving a *patha* of seed should be one *patha* in area; but in practice it is far otherwise. At the regular Settlement it was found that the *khár* of land not only varied from village to village but also sometimes within the same village, even though the unit of capacity was constant. The latter however shows many local variations, and it may be said generally that the system of measures in Mandi is chaotic. In the Saráj seed measurements are in *pathas* and *bhárs*, 16 *pathas* making 1 *bhár*. In Chuhár, Uttarsál, Sanor, Pandoh and Náchan the measurements are in *pathas* and *bhands* :—

16 *pathas* = one *lákh* (or 16 annas).

16 *lákhs* = one *bhand*.

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Measures and weights.

The measures of weight are as follows :—

6 *sarsáhís*	=	1 *páo.*
4 *páos*	=	1 *ser kachcha.*
5 *sers.*	=	1 *batti* or *panseri.*
2 *battís*	=	1 *dhari.*
4 *dharís*	=	1 *man kachcha.*

The *sarsáhi* is equal to $1\frac{1}{3}$ *tolas* Imperial weight, and therefore $2\frac{1}{2}$ *sers kachcha* are equal to 1 *ser* Imperial weight.

SECTION F.—Communications.

Communications. — Communications.

The communications are good for a hill tract. The three main routes are :—(*a*) Mandi to Pálampur ; (*b*) Mandi to Kulu over the Dulchi Pass ; and (*c*) Mandi to Hoshiárpur through the Bahl and southern portion of the Sarka Ghát *tahsíl*. The trade along each of these three roads is considerable ; wheeled traffic is only possible on the first, but is practically nil. Labánas with their bullocks and Kumhárs with their mules are the chief carriers. The camel traffic along the Hoshiárpur road is also considerable in the cold weather and generally there is no lack of transport. In addition to the high roads, there are several routes fit for mule traffic, *viz.*, Mandi to Pandoh, Mandi to the Saráj and thence to Rámpur Bushahr, the Simla road *viâ* Suket and Jhungi, the Kulu road over the Bhubu Pass, and the Mandi-Riwálsar road. There are numerous bridle and footpaths which give ready access to the more out-lying villages, but along these goods have to be carried by cooly.

Projected Kulu cart-road.

The Lárji-Mandi cart-road is a project which will materially benefit the State. It will ultimately connect the Kulu Valley with the Punjab plains ; running along the Beás as far as Mandi town, it will there leave the river, passing southward through Suket and Biláspur. The work is being undertaken by Government, but the State has agreed to pay Rs. 50,000 towards the construction of the road and Rs. 1,000 per annum for maintenance. The State will continue to maintain all existing roads in its territory, except that portion of the Kulu road over the Bhubu Pass which lies east of Bhadwáni. A portion of the Lárji-Mandi road has already been constructed and it is hoped that the whole portion inside Mandi territory will be completed within two years.

Description of main routes—Mandi-Pálampur road.

The Mandi-Pálampur road has been widened and greatly improved during the past few years and is regularly used by the State motor ; but it is still narrow in parts, the turns are many and sharp, and the *khads* steep. Only motorists thoroughly used to hill roads and driving reliable cars should venture along it. By this route Mandi is 133 miles from Pathánkot, 81 from Kángra, 77½ from Dharmsála, and 62 from Pálampur. *Ekkas* run from Pálampur to Baijnáth, whence traffic is by mules, ponies, or camels. *Ekkas* can, and occasionally do, come right through to Mandi. The Baijnáth-Mandi road was constructed in 1887 at a cost of a lakh of rupees. It is 48 miles in length from Ghatta on the Mandi border to Mandi town.

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Communications.

Routes into Kulu.

Travellers from Pálampur to Kulu leave this road at Ghatásni and thence proceed 3 miles up hill to Jhatingri : from there the route lies viâ Bhadwáni over the Bhubu Pass (9,480 feet) into Sultánpur. The pass is covered with snow during the winter and remains closed from the end of November to the beginning of April, and travellers then have to follow the route over the Dulchi Pass (6,760 feet). The latter leaves the Mandi-Pálampur road at Drang and goes viâ Kataula to Bajaura in Kulu.

Stages from Pálampur to Mandi.

The stages from Pálampur are as follows :—

1. Baijnáth	11 miles ; metalled road ...	Dák bungalow, *sarái*, encamping-ground, post and telegraph office, water plentiful, small bazaar.
2. Dhelu, 4,000 feet	13 miles ; unmetalled road	Mandi State dák bungalow, *sarái*, encamping-ground, water rather scarce in the early summer, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice. The Mandi State border is at the Ghatta pass, 2¾ miles from Baijnáth.
3. Urla, 4,500 feet	14 miles ; ditto	Mandi State dák bungalow, *sarái* and encamping-ground, water plentiful, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice. The road passes close to the Gumán salt quarry. At Ghatásni (5,200 feet, and the highest point on the road) the Kulu road over the Bhubu Pass branches off. Branch post office and telegraph office at Gumán.
4. Drang, 3,600 feet	12 miles ; ditto	Mandi State dák bungalow, *sarái*, and encamping-ground, water sufficient, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice. The Drang salt quarry lies close to the road. Branch post office.
5. Mandi, 2,400 feet	12 miles ; ditto	State dák bungalow, *sarái*, and encamping-ground, large bazaar. Mules can usually be hired if sufficient notice is given. Post and telegraph office.
Total ...	62 miles.	

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Communications.

Stages from Pálampur to Kulu.

The stages from Pálampur into Kulu to Sultánpur are :—

SUMMER ROUTE.		
1. Baijnáth ...	As before; 24 miles.	
2. Dhelu ...		
3. Jhatingri, 6,600 feet.	13 miles; mule road ...	Up to Ghatásni as before, thence 3 miles uphill by good mule road. Summer head-quarters of the Mandi State. Dák bungalow and *sarái*, water plentiful, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice. Post office.
4. Badhwáni, 6,700 feet.	11 miles; ditto ...	Mandi State dák bungalow, *sarái*, water plentiful, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice.
5. Karáon, 6,400 feet	12 miles; ditto ...	Road crosses the Bhubu Pass, which forms the State boundary. Kulu Civil rest-house.
6. Sultánpur, 4,000 feet.	8 miles; ditto ...	Dák bungalow, Civil rest-house, post and telegraph office, hospital, large bazaar.
Total ...	68 miles.	
WINTER ROUTE.		
1. Baijnáth ...	As before; 50 miles	
2. Dhelu ...		
3. Urla ...		
4. Drang ..		
5. Kataula, 3,800 feet	14 miles; mule road ...	Mandi State dák bungalow, *sarái* and encamping-ground, water plentiful, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice.
6. Bajaura, 3,600 feet	16 miles; ditto ..	Kulu dák bungalow, post and telegraph office. The road crosses the Dulchi pass which forms the State boundary. Travellers are warned that the dák bungalow shown on most maps at the Dulchi pass no longer exists.
7. Sultánpur ...	9 miles; unmetalled road ...	As before.
Total ...	89 miles.	

There is a good mule road from Mandi to Kataula, 14 miles.

Mandi-Hoshiárpur road.

The Mandi-Hoshiárpur road is the shortest route from Mandi to any railway station. There is much mule and camel traffic by it through Mandi from Ladák and Yárkand. It is not popular

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Communications.
Mandi-Hoshiárpur road.

with European travellers, as the rest-houses are bad, and in the summer it is very hot. The distance from Mandi town to the Kángra border is 27 miles, and this portion of the road was constructed in 1882 at a cost of Rs. 50,000; it is a good mule and camel road but the gradients go up to 1 in 10. It is at present being widened and improved with a view to its use by the State motor. The head-quarters of the Sarka Ghát *tahsíl* are situated at a distance of 11 miles due north of Bhámla, the second stage on this road from Mandi. *Ekkas* run regularly from Una to Hoshiárpur.

Stages from Mandi to Hoshiárpur.

The stages from Mandi are as follows —

1. Galma, 3,000 feet	11 miles; unmetalled road	Mandi State rest-house, *sarái* and encamping-ground, water plentiful, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice.
2. Bhámla, 3,300 feet	13 miles; ditto	Mandi State rest-house, *sarái* and encamping-ground, water plentiful, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice.
3. Aghár, 2,700 feet	16 miles; ditto	Kángra Civil rest-house.
4. Barsar ...	13 miles; ditto	Kángra Police rest-house.
5. Una ...	19 miles; ditto	Hoshiárpur Civil rest-house, post and telegraph office, large bazaar.
6. Jaijon ...	12 miles; ditto	Railway rest-house, railway station on the branch line to Phagwára.
Total ...	84 miles	
or 6. Ban Khundi ...	12 miles; unmetalled road	Hoshiárpur Civil rest-house.
7. Hoshiárpur ...	12 miles; ditto	Dák bungalow, railway station on the Hoshiárpur-Jullundur line, *Ekkas* run regularly from Una.
Total ...	96 miles.	

Routes to Simla.

Travellers to Simla usually follow the Biláspur route, which is as follows from Mandi :—

1. Suket, 2,900 feet (Bhojpur)	15 miles; unmetalled road	Suket State dák bungalow, post and telegraph office, hospital, fair-sized bazaar.
2. Dehar, 1,700 feet	11 miles; ditto ...	Suket State rest-house.
3. Bilàspur, 1,600 feet	11 miles; mule road ...	Bilàspur State rest-house.
4. Namoli, 4,000 feet	15 miles; ditto ...	Rest-house.
5. Arki ...	13 miles; ditto ...	Ditto.
6. Gahna ...	13 miles; ditto ...	Ditto.
7. Simla ...	12 miles; ditto	
Total ...	90 miles.	

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Routes to Simla.

An alternative route, longer but through pleasanter country, is :—

1. Suket, 2,900 feet (Bhojpur).	As before ; 15 miles.	
2. Ghiri, 6,700 feet	12 miles ; mule road ...	Suket State rest-house.
3. Jhungi, 5,800 feet	13½ miles ; ditto ...	Mandi State rest-house, *sarái* and encamping-ground, supplies and coolies procurable after due notice.
4. Chindhi ...	11½ miles ; ditto ..	Suket State rest-house.
5. Alsindhi ...	9½ miles ; ditto ...	Ditto.
6. Suni ...	11 miles ; ditto ...	Bhajji State rest-house.
7. Naldera ...	11 miles ; ditto ...	Public Works Department rest-house.
8. Mashobra ...	6 miles ; ditto ...	Hotels.
9. Simla ...	6 miles ; ditto ...	Do.
Total ...	95½ miles	

Yet another route to Simla is that through Kulu, and to the leisured traveller this is the most attractive of all. The stages from Bajaura are :—

1. Lárji, 3,160 feet	11 miles ; mule road ...	Civil rest-house.
2. Banjár, 5,000 feet	12 miles ; ditto ...	Civil rest-house, post office, hospital.
3. Shoja, 8,800 feet	10 miles ; ditto ...	Civil rest-house.
4. Khanág, 8,300 feet.	7 miles ; ditto ...	Road crosses the Jalori Pass (10,000 feet), civil rest-house.
5. Ani, 4,100 feet...	9 miles ; ditto ...	Civil rest-house, post office.
6. Luri, 2,600 feet	11½ miles ; ditto ...	Civil rest-house.
7. Nárkanda, 9,000 feet.	13 miles ; ditto ...	Dák bungalow.
8. Mathiána ...	11 miles ; ditto ...	Ditto.
9. Theog ...	11 miles ; ditto ...	Ditto.
10. Fágu ...	5½ miles ; ditto ...	Ditto.
11. Simla ...	11½ miles ; ditto	
Total ...	112½ miles.	

Mandi-Rúpar route.

The route from Mandi to Rúpar and thence to Doráha railway station is 109 miles and is usually travelled by pilgrims to

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Mandi-Rúpar route.

Hardwár and Gaya. It is a bad road with no rest-houses nor dâk bungalows. Travellers go by boat from Doráha along the Sirhind canal to Rúpar 36 miles, and from there the road stages are Kála Kund 21 miles Biláspur 15 miles, Dehar 11 miles, Suket 11 miles and Mandi 15 miles.

State staging rules.

The State staging rules are given in Appendix II.

Post and telegraph offices.

There is a post and telegraph office at the capital of the State and branch post offices at Sakroti, Gumán, Chauntra, Drang, Sandhol and Bhangrotu, and in the summer at Jhatingri. The Postal Department have recently opened a telegraph office at Gumán, which is the head-quarters of the Harabágh *tahsíl* and within 4 miles of Jhatingri, the summer head-quarters of the State.

Ordinary British India postage stamps are used within the State, and for its service correspondence the Durbár receives a free grant of Rs. 700 worth of service labels, being permitted to purchase further supplies at cost price.

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Famine.

SECTION G.—Famine.

Famine is unknown in the State, and although scarcity sometimes prevails in the Saráj, it is mitigated by the facility with which the people of that tract can obtain remunerative employment.

CHAP. III. A.

General Administration and Administrative Divisions.

CHAPTER III.—Administrative.

SECTION A.—General Administration and Administrative Divisions.

General administration.

During the past few years many administrative reforms have been carried out, but there are still several which remain to be effected. Of these the most important is the decentralisation of revenue and judicial work by the establishment of *tahsíls* outside the head-quarters of the State. There are four *tahsíls*, namely, Sadr, Harabágh, Chachiot and Sarka Ghát, but the work of all is concentrated at Mandi. For the Sarka Ghát *tahsíl* commodious buildings have just been constructed and opened (1919) and as funds permit buildings will be erected for the Harabágh and Chachiot *tahsíls* at Gumán and Gohar, respectively. The *tahsíl* will then become the local unit of administration.

During the minority of the present Rája, the State is under the administration of the Punjab Government, the chief executive officer being the Superintendent, under the control of the Commissioner of the Jullundur Division. Subordinate to the Superintendent is his Assistant, who is popularly known as the *Wazír*; but his powers are not so wide as those exercised in the past by the *Wazír* of a ruling chief. Under the latter, the *Wazír* was the chief executive official, his duties being varied and onerous, while in judicial matters he was the highest original court, although his orders were, in all cases, subject to appeal to the Rája. In theory, the Superintendent is the representative of the Rája; but in practice he takes a more direct part in administration than has been customary for the Rája to take, and this relieves the Assistant Superintendent of much responsibility ordinarily borne by the *Wazír*. The duties of the Assistant Superintendent are, however, still heavy. He has the powers of a District Magistrate in criminal cases, of a District Judge in civil cases, and of an Assistant Collector, 1st grade, in revenue cases; while executively he has to supervise all departments of the State, except the Forest and Public Works Departments which, at present, are directly under the Superintendent.

Local divisions.

The State is split up into 21 *wazíris*, 152 *garhs* or *iláqás* and 3,857 villages, the last named representing the separate estates measured at Settlement. Many of them are mere hamlets, the average area being 37 acres only. The *wazíri* has now lost its importance and been replaced by the *pálsra* or *kárdár* circle which corresponds to the *zail* of the plains. In former times,

however, each *wazíri* was administered by a *wazír* under the central *wazír* of the *chauhta*, so called from the Chauhta in Mandi town where he held his court and was formally installed. The local *wazírs* exercised wide powers. They could authorize the breaking up of the waste, effect partition, assess fluctuating revenue, arrest cultivators who failed to pay their revenue punctually, attach their crops and inflict minor corporal punishment. They collected the grazing and all other dues. Each *wazír* had a *kaith*, or accountant, under him to keep his accounts, and a *pinjoli* or *mehr* in each *garh*. The *wazíri* was divided into several *garhs* or *mehráis*. The *garh*, or fort, itself was the head-quarters of the *mehrái* and was selected as a safe stronghold for the storage of the revenue collected in cash or kind. Each *garh* was again sub-divided into several *gráon* or *bási* which resembled the *tikás* in Kángra and which were hamlets or groups of houses with their adjacent fields. But the *wazírs* lost their powers about fifty years ago and from that time were treated much on the same lines as the *zaildárs* of British districts. The arrangements made at the recent land Settlement are described under the section 'Land Revenue.'

The *wazíri* is now merely a geographical term, while for administrative purposes the *kárdár* or *pálsra* circles created at the Settlement have replaced them as definite units of the *tahsíl*.

The following statement shows the villages, *kárdár* circles and *thánás* in each *tahsíl* :—

Tahsíl.	*Thána.*	*Kárdár* circles.	Number of villages.
Harabágh ...	Harabágh ...	Bhangál	125
		Lad	208
		Ner Kalán I	184
		Ner Kalán II	193
		Gumán	113
		Northern half of Chuhár ...	116
	Drang ...	Southern half of Chuhár ...	
		Drang Sira	196
		Uttarsál	87
		Sanor	193
		Badár	64

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General Administration and Administrative Divisions.

Local divisions.

Tahsíl.	*Thána.*	*Kárdár* circles.	Number of villages.
Sarka Ghát	Sandhol	Sandhol	28
		Kamláh	136
	Sarka Ghát	Anantpur	147
		Pingla	102
		Gopálpur	54
	Hatli	Hatli	101
		Baira	54
Sadr	Hatli	Bagra	118
	Sadr	Tungal	157
		Pachhit	135
		Pandoh	85
	Bahl	Hatgarh	131
		Bahl I	34
		Bahl II	49
		Bahl III	58
Chachiot	Chachiot	Tilli	86
		Machhrot	63
		Sidhpur	30
		Rián	100
		Chachiot	43
		Dhangiára	42
		Maidángarh	116
	Saráj	Kalípar	108
		Bunga	49
		Dáhr	66
		Magru Mángarh	84
		Kándi	111
	Báli outpost	Thujri	26
		Bági Thách	36
		Báns	29

SECTION B.—Civil and Criminal Justice.

The Durbar has adopted the Indian Penal Code, the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure and the Indian Evidence Act with such modifications as are necessary to meet local conditions. Thus the police take cognizance of any offence and *chalán* the case either in the court of the Assistant Superintendent or of the *thána* Magistrate according to its gravity; assessors are not appointed in Sessions cases which are tried by the Superintendent; sentences of death require the confirmation of the Commissioner of the Division; and, in practice, an appeal lies to the Superintendent from all but the most trivial punishments. The *thánás* are distributed amongst the various magistrates and cases within their jurisdiction are *chaláned* before them.

Agricultural land cannot be attached in execution of a monetary decree.

The Superintendent exercises the powers of a Chief Court in criminal and civil cases.

In criminal cases the Assistant Superintendent has the powers of a District Magistrate with powers under section 30, Criminal Procedure Code, and in civil cases he has the powers of a District Judge.

There is one 1st class Magistrate and Munsiff.

The Treasury Officer and each of the four Tahsíldars are invested with the powers of a 2nd class Magistrate and Munsiff; in addition there is one Náib-Tahsíldar who has 3rd class magisterial powers only.

The people are somewhat litigious, especially the Khatrís of Mandi town and the residents of the State on the Kángra border. Land suits are most common; but as a rule the points at issue and the customs by which they are governed are simple. Litigants often agree to be bound by an oath, the plaintiff or the defendant, as the case may be, submitting to a finding against him if the other party will take the prescribed form of oath. The one to which most resort is made is before the idol of Bhút Náth, the declarant pronouncing his claim and immediately drinking the sacred water in which the idol has been bathed. Sometimes an oath is taken on the cow, when the swearer puts his arms around its neck, or breaks a string tied round it or catches hold of its horns. Or again, a man swears on the head of his son, laying his hand thereon while he makes a declaration. A false swearer is generally looked down upon and in a clear case of perjury is outcasted. The giving of false evidence is compara-

CHAP. III. B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

tively rare, but the habit is spreading. In the villages the people are generally truthful and it is easy to ascertain the actual facts of a case, if it is discussed before a gathering of local residents. There are no pleaders or *mukhtárs* in the State, and it would be a grave mistake to allow them a foothold. The necessity of obtaining the previous sanction of the State to transfers of land renders a system of registration very easy.

The following local laws are in force :—

Fisheries Regulation and Rules, No. I of Sambat 1973.

Forest Regulation and Rules, No I of Sambat 1975.

Transfer of Immoveable Property, No. II of Sambat 1975.

Limitation of Interest, No. III of Sambat 1975.

Protection of Currency, No. IV of Sambat 1975.

Limitation of Suits, No. V of Sambat 1975.

Criminal Tribes Regulation, No. VI of Sambat 1975.

Stamps Regulation, No. VII of Sambat 1975.

Land Revenue Regulation, No. VIII of Sambat 1975.

Tenancy Regulation, No. IX of Sambat 1975.

SECTION C.—Land Revenue.

The principles on which the ancient land revenue of the State was founded have been described in Section C of Chap. I. The first attempt to regularise the revenue system on modern lines was made in 1871 when Lála Mohkam Chand commenced measurement work. The innovation was bitterly opposed and Rája Bijái Sen yielding to the wishes of the people indefinitely postponed the reform. No effect was given to the records prepared and the old system was maintained without modification. Its outstanding defect was the inequality of the burdens borne by different classes and by members of the same class. This was due partly to the system of *begár*, partly to the casual methods by which new cultivation was assessed to revenue, and partly to the unfortunate practice of auctioning land to a person willing to pay more than the assessment in force. The imposition of arbitrary demands from time to time increased the confusion, while the existence side by side of cash and grain assessments took no account of the large extent to which the prices of agricultural produce had risen. Evasion, dishonesty and peculation further complicated matters, the net result being that the system of land revenue was in a chaotic condition. It was impossible to say with absolute accuracy what the total demand was previous to the recent re-assessment, the account being complicated by the existence of *begár* and of miscellaneous imposts, the value of which was difficult to determine. For the calculation of *begár*, a commutation rate of Rs. 4 per mensem was adopted, this representing the assumed value to the State of the services of an able-bodied man, less the cost of the daily food allowance made to him. In the subjoined statement an estimate of the various items is given in so far as they represented the actual realisations which have now been merged in the new revenue demand and cesses :—

Cash.	Assigned revenue.	Kind.	Miscellaneous cesses.	Tax on hides.	*Bethángna* (commutation for *begár*).	*Begár.*	Total.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1,96,999	31,704	11,246	1,695	10,100	7,918	44,579	3,04,241

CHAP. III. C.
Land Revenue.
The first Regular Settlement.

A regular settlement of the State having been desired by the late Rája Bhiwáni Sen, it was sanctioned by the Punjab Government. Mr. Garbett, I.C.S., joined as Settlement Officer in February 1911, but owing to illness was obliged to leave in the following June. Mr. Gordon Walker, I.C.S., succeeded him at the end of October 1911, and soon after he assumed charge the work of measurement commenced. He unfortunately had to take leave on medical certificate in February 1915, and was succeeded in the following March by Mr. Emerson, I.C.S. Mr. Gordon Walker, before he gave over charge, had practically completed measurement work, the system adopted being the triangulation method prescribed for hill districts in the Punjab, field books and *khataunís* being prepared in the usual way as measurement proceeded. The unit of length adopted was the *karm* of 56 inches and the unit of area the *bigah* of one-fifth of an acre. Survey was generally confined to the cultivated and grass lands, but the relative positions of scattered patches of cultivation were plotted on the mapping sheet with approximate accuracy so that there will be little difficulty in incorporating *nautor*. The usual scale was 40 *karms* to the inch, but owing to the minute sub-division of holdings a scale of 20 *karms* had to be adopted in many villages, and in a few one of 10 *karms* was necessary. The total number of fields measured was about 1,200,000, the average size of a *khasra* number of cultivated land being one-ninth of an acre. The smallness of the fields is due to the fact that on partition the land is not divided out in blocks, the share-holders splitting up most of the fields in order to secure for each his fair share of every kind of land. But although differences of quality are undoubtedly considerable even within a small area, there is no doubt that fragmentation is carried to excess.

Tenures.

The Rája is sole proprietor of the soil and no other proprietary rights exist. Under him the superior right-holders are assignees of land revenue, and *málguzárs*, viz., persons responsible for the payment of the land revenue. The former are in the vast majority of cases of the same status as proprietary assignees in the Punjab. They receive from the cultivators payments in cash or kind which are now regarded as rent, although in many cases these payments represent the old revenue demand; and on resumption of their assignments the settlement is made with them and not with their tenants. They were therefore recorded as *málguzárs*, the term in regard to them meaning the person who would be responsible for the payment of the revenue were it not assigned.

The continued possession of *málguzárs* is conditional on loyalty and obedience to the chief, the punctual payment of land

revenue and cesses and the rendering of authorised dues and services. They may not, without the sanction of the Rája, make any permanent or temporary alienation of their holdings by way of sale, gift, or mortgage; nor may they create a tenancy by way of lease for a period of more than five years.

The only private *málguzári* right recognised in grass lands relates to the small areas for which the occupiers were paying revenue at the commencement of the regular Settlement. For the rest, the Rája has been entered as proprietor and the *málguzárs* of the cultivated land attached as his tenants-at-will. The tenant of the *málguzár*, if there be one, enjoys the same status in the grass lands as in the cultivated land to which they appertain.

Two classes of tenants have now been recognised, tenants-at-will and occupancy tenants.

Occupancy rights were granted—

(1) if the cultivator, or his ancestor, had been in undisturbed possession for more than twelve years,

(2) if the cultivator, or his ancestor, had broken up the land to cultivation.

(3) if the cultivator, or his ancestor, had built a house on the land or otherwise made permanent improvements.

These terms were liberal, with the result that 68 per cent. of the total area under tenancy is now held in occupancy right. Their rights have been defined in a Tenancy Regulation, which, while following generally the lines of the Punjab Tenancy Act, has been framed to meet local conditions. No occupancy tenant can be ejected without the previous sanction of the Rája, but, subject to this condition, he is liable to evictment if he wilfully neglects the cultivation of his holding, or if he fails within a period of two years to satisfy a decree for an arrear of rent passed against him. Security of tenure has thus been assured, and this is in accordance with popular sentiment; but, on the other hand, the rents payable by the occupancy tenants are not privileged ones. Succession is governed by customary rules of inheritance, which inter alia give to a widow a life interest in the holding provided that she continues to reside in her late husband's house. Chastity amongst the Kanets and lower tribes is not then a condition of enjoyment. The rights of tenants-at-will correspond generally to those enjoyed by the same class in the Punjab.

CHAP. III. C.
Land Revenue.
Tenures.

The sub-joined table shows the percentage of the total cultivated area held in *málguzári* right by the main tribes:—

Agriculturists.	Per cent.	Non-agriculturists.	Per cent.	Miscellaneous.	Per cent.
Kanets ...	40	Khatrís ...	12	State; and religious institutions.	2
Rájpúts ...	10	Brahmans	7		
Ráthís ...	8	Others ...	2		
Brahmans ...	8				
Kolís ...	5				
Others ...	6				
Total ...	77	Total ...	21	Total ...	2

Non-agriculturists thus hold 21 per cent. as against 77 per cent. held by agriculturists. They are strongest in the three circles lying round Mandi town, the land in the Pahári circle not being sufficiently good to tempt them, and the *zamíndári* body in the Western circle being too strong to allow them a firm foothold.

Assessment Circles.

For the purposes of assessment the tract was divided into five circles, but the circle in the hills is necessarily far less homogeneous than in the plains, the cultivation presenting great variations according to altitude, aspect, slope and distance from the cultivator's main house or secondary hamlet. In every circle the many features of agriculture in the hills are represented in a greater or less degree, and the following description merely gives the salient characteristics of each tract :—

(*a*) *Harabágh Circle.*—The Harabágh Circle consists of the north-western portion of the State, being bounded on the south by the Beás, on the east by the Uhl river and the range known as Ghoghar-ki-Dhár and marching with the Pálampur *tahsíl* of Kángra on the north and west. Although it is broken up by two main ranges of hills and many transverse ridges, the three chief valleys are fairly open, and there are extensive areas of fine level land. Water is plentiful and the area irrigated from artificial water-courses *kúhls*) is larger and more secure than in any other circle. Nearly ⅓rd of the cultivation is held by non-agriculturists; grazing is abundant and the miscellaneous resources large. The standard of cultivation varies, but on the whole is high. The *kharíf* is more important than the *rabi* and rice is the most valuable crop.

(*b*) *Maidáni Circle.*—The Maidáni Circle is small in area and lies between Mandi town and the Suket State. Its outstanding feature is the open Bahl plain where the best villages are situated. Above this are several plateaux where the cultivation is still open, but not so favoured with natural irrigation streams. The circle is intensively cultivated, grazing facilities are poor, the cultivators are generally degenerate and drinking is rife. But the soil is of first rate quality; 24 per cent. of the cultivated area receives irrigation from *kúhls* and 14 per cent. is subject to natural flooding (*sailáb*); the proportion of high class crops is exceptionally large and the yields are heavy. The tract is very secure and even partial failures are rare. There are very few areas in the hills which can compare with it in fertility.

(*c*) *Western Circle*.—As its name implies this circle occupies the western portion of the State, marching with the Kángra district and the Biláspur and Suket States along more than one-half of its boundary. On the north it is bounded by the Beás; and on the east by the same river, the Maidáni Circle and part of the Suket State. The circle is irregular, portions of it being occupied by precipitous hills and transverse spurs on which the soil is shallow. The lower slopes, however, are generally easy and there are wide stretches of open cultivation much of which is irrigated from permanent streams or torrents. The irrigation is not so secure nor so extensive as in the Harabágh Circle; but the cultivators are more industrious and enterprising; grazing and grass lands are extensive; miscellaneous sources of income—especially earnings from forest labour—are large; the people are unusually prosperous for an agricultural community and they have steadily resisted the intrusion of non-agriculturists. Double cropping is extensive; the *kharíf* is more important than the *rabi*; and the rainfall is generally adequate, although the *rabi* is liable to failure in exceptionally dry years. Both on account of the large area under cultivation and the strength of the agricultural population this is the most important circle of the State.

(*d*) *The Darmiáni Circle.*—The boundaries of this circle are arbitrary and it consists of a group of villages, most of which lie at medium elevation between the Pahári and Maidáni Circles. The rainfall is neither excessive nor short, and few villages lie above the winter snow line. The soil varies much in quality, but the average is fairly high. Rice and maize are grown, but not to the same extent as in the circles already described, and although the *kharíf* is more important than the *rabi*, the difference is less marked; grazing is ample and there are good forests. The irrigated area is small, but the standard of cultivation is satisfactory. The amount of land held by non-agriculturists is higher

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Land Revenue.

Assessment Circles.

than in any other circle, and in one *kárdári* there is some scarcity of tenants.

(*e*) *The Pahári Circle*—This includes the most mountanious portions of the State and is a long narrow tract stretching from the Pálampur *tahsíl* of Kángra on the north to the Suket State on the south, while on the east it is bounded by Kulu; its boundaries on the west are arbitrary. It is divided into two approximately equal portions by the Beás flowing from east to west. From the agricultural point of view it is the weakest of the five circles. The range of altitudes is large, the lowest valley being not less than 4,000 feet and the highest mountain above 11,000 feet. The greater part of the cultivation lies between 5,000 and 6,000 feet, but there are numerous villages situated between 6,000 and 7,500 feet. The seasonal conditions are rarely favourable over the whole circle; the rain and snow falls are either excessive in the high villages or short in the low ones. Much of the cultivation is of the pronounced hill type, but there are several open valleys where the slopes are easy. Husbandry is of only a moderate standard, but given favourable rainfall the yields of wheat and barley are heavy, the average being brought down by the light outturns in poor years. There is little double cropping, the *rabi* is of more importance than the *kharíf*, the area under rice and maize is small and irrigation is negligible. On the other hand, the forests are very extensive, the flocks large and the outside revenue satisfactory. The people are satisfied with a diet consisting largely of the coarser grains and they are generally thrifty; they are excellent revenue-payers.

Soil classification.

The soil classification was based on the following definitions which were not, however, rigorously observed :—

Kúhli I.—Soil that is irrigated for both harvests and as a general rule produces two crops annually.

Kúhli II.—Irrigated land that gets water at least one harvest a year and produces at least one crop (generally the *kharíf*) a year.

Sailáb II.—Contains the small area lying along the banks of the main streams on which sand and gravel are deposited. It is generally single cropped, being left fallow in the *kharíf* and put under wheat or *masar* in the *rabi*.

Sailáb I.—Includes the rest of the area subject to inundation, and, in addition, such land as lies above the flood level of ordinary years, but is kept permanently moist owing to its proximity to the flooded areas and the consequent nearness to the surface of the spring level.

CHAP. III. C.

Land Revenue.

Soil classification.

Báráni I.—In all but the Pahári Circle :—Unirrigated land well manured and producing annually two crops a year, or from five to six crops in three years. In the Pahári Circle this class included land which produces regularly only one crop in the year, that crop being either barley or wheat and being richly manured.

Báráni II.—Unirrigated land producing one crop a year as a general rule, but capable sometimes of producing two crops. On such land one would expect three or four crops in three years.

Báráni III.—Unirrigated land cultivated at least once in the last four years.

Rúta or *kharetar*—hayfields or grass-lands, are lands held in individual tenancy possession directly under the Durbár, closed to grazing during the rains in order to secure a crop of hay.

General principles governing the new assessment.

Previous to the assessment of the various circles, certain general principles on which it was to proceed were laid down by Government, and these may be summarised as follows :—

(1) For the purposes of the present assessment, and without prejudice to the rights of the minor Rája, the Rája's share in the shape of land revenue, apart from the other dues and cesses to which he may be entitled, was fixed at one-half of the net assets.

(2) The abolition of *pála begár* was sanctioned.

(3) The only forms of *begár* to be recognised in future were the following services :—

(*a*) the making and repair of village roads,

(*b*) attendance at the camps of high Government officials when they visit the State,

(*c*) arrangements for the camps of State officials when on tour,

(*d*) service to the Ruling Chief on special occasions such as accession to the *gaddi*, marriage of the Chief or his relations, occasions of mourning, etc.,

(*e*) the carriage of State *dâk*.

(4) Other services were to be paid for, and in particular the transport of the baggage of officials on tour was to be paid.

(5) Cesses were fixed at 20 per cent. of the land revenue, of which 10 per cent. was to be a cess in lieu of

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Land Revenue.

General principles governing the new assessment.

begár or *khidmat*. The only persons exempted from this cess were :—assignees of land revenue in respect of assigned land, individuals in possession of a *sántha* of exemption, and persons who could establish a claim to exemption in return for services rendered, or the payment of *nazrána*.

(6) All miscellaneous demands, inclusive of *jansál*—a tax on hides and skins—, were to be abolished with the exception of—

(*a*) grazing fees on flocks and herds which were to be revised in connection with the Forest Settlement,

(*b*) a tax on water-mills,

(*c*) a tax on oil presses,

(*d*) a tax on shops,

(*e*) a tax on gold-washers,

(*f*) a tax on artisans.

Enhancement of the existing revenue.

The general factors which justified an enhancement in the existing assessment were :—the leniency of the purely cash demand, the fact that for a large number of *málguzárs* this represented their only contribution to the State revenues, the large, though unequal, increase in the cultivated area, the rise during recent years in the value of agricultural produce, the miscellaneous resources of the State and their enhanced value during recent years, *e.g.*, the increase in the prices of *ghi*, wool and animals; increased opportunities for employment inside and outside the State and a substantial rise in the earnings of both skilled and unskilled labourers.

The materials for assessment were scanty and such as they were had to be collected during the progress of operations. The absence of former statistics, except in the case of areas expressed in seed measures, prevented comparison with past conditions. The cropping figures depended on the record of four harvests at the most ; there was no reliable information as to yields ; cash rents were rare and fixed grain rents did not provide a correct assessment guide. The existing distribution of the demand was worse than useless as a criterion of the revenue paying capacity of the soil, and the system of seed measures had become so complicated as to lose any merit it possessed as a test of productivity. Under these circumstances, theoretical guides were of little practical use and were employed, not as the basis of assessment, but as a rough check on a demand framed on other principles. The produce estimates were framed on the methods prescribed for the Punjab, an allowance of 10 per cent. being made in the Pahári Circle and

CHAP. III. C.

Land Revenue.

Enhancement of the existing revenue.

8a per cent. in the other circles for deductions of the dues of menils from the common heap. Soil rates were deduced from these and other material, but they were regarded as rough guides representing approximately the proportionate average capacity of the different classes of soil and bringing out an assessment which experience showed to be reasonable and practicable. Their chief use was for comparison of the Mandi Circles inter se and with neighbouring tracts. The rate on grass lands, however, Re. 0-0-7 per *bigha*, was applied uniformly. On other soils the range of variation was very large. In the Western Circle, for example, the village soil rates actually imposed varied between the following limits :—

		Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Kúhli I	...	6	4	0	to	2	8	0
Kúhli II	...	3	7	0	„	2	3	0
Báráni I	...	4	11	0	„	0	10	0
Báráni II	...	1	14	0	„	0	5	0
Báráni III	...	0	15	0	„	0	2	6

The variations show clearly the immense differences which are found in land nominally of the same class, and establish the very limited utility of both the soil rates and the produce estimates.

Except in the Harabagh Circle, where the fixation of a theoretical demand preceded the distribution over villages, the basis of the Settlement Officer's proposals was the village-to-village assessment. General statistics and considerations were used mainly as checks on local rates. Although a rough circle demand was framed before village assessment began, this was not closely adhered to and the demand finally proposed was the aggregate of the village assessments provisionally made, that is to say, made subject to any subsequent modifications necessitated by the orders of Government. Soil rates were framed by the Settlement Officer for each village and their application to the proper areas gave the provisional demand. In fixing the rates he relied mainly on the local knowledge of the people, as checked by his own inspections and inquiries. The *iláqa*, or group of villages, was chosen as a convenient basis of enquiry. The *málguzárs* of the *iláqa* were called together and were asked to grade their villages. For a large *iláqa* there would sometimes be as many as ten grades, while for a small one there would be three or four only. Free discussion was encouraged, and where the grading did not coincide with the views of the Settlement Officer the reasons for the difference of opinion were gone into. Generally speaking, there were very few errors in classification and this grading, besides

CHAP. III. C.

Land Revenue.

Enhancement of the existing revenue.

giving confidence to the people, was of the greatest value in fixing rates.

There were, of course, several factors which the villagers could not weigh. Such was the lack of uniformity in soil classification, and, to some extent, the failure to make allowance for the circumstances of the people irrespective of the quality of the land they held. But these were points to which special attention was paid in the discussion of individual villages which also took place in the presence of the *málguzárs* of the *iláqa*.

Special importance was attached to equality of distribution, and reductions in the existing demand were given freely, where this was out of proportion to the assessments proposed for villages of the same class. On the other hand, it was necessary to take large enhancements in individual cases; but the Settlement was generally well received by the people, especially by those members of the agricultural classes who had previously given heavy *begár*.

The statement below shows the enhancement in the various circles and for the State as a whole of the new demand, inclusive of cesses, on the former demand inclusive and exclusive of *begár*; and also various statistics by which the nature of the new assessment may be judged :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Circle.	New revenue proper.	Cesses.	Total new demand.	Percentage rise on old demand inclusive of *begár*.	Percentage rise on old demand exclusive of *begár*.	Per cent. of gross produce of (1).	Per cent. of gross produce of (3).	Percentage of half net assets of (1).	Incidence of revenue proper per acre of cultivated area.	Incidence of revenue proper per matured acre.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.						Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Harabágh ...	72,580	14,516	87,096	49	68	13	15	55	2 8 4	1 15 2
Maidáni ...	41,897	8,379	50,276	17	24	12	15	51	3 7 4	2 7 8
Western ...	1,16,845	23,369	1,40,214	33	43	10	12	52	2 3 6	1 9 11
Darmiáni ...	25,050	5,010	30,060	14	40	11	13	48	1 15 10	1 10 1
Pahári ...	56,278	11,256	67,534	5	71	16	18	70	1 6 11	1 8 4
Whole State ...	3,12,650	62,530	3,75,180	23	49	12	14	55	2 2 5	1 12 1

The demand imposed may be regarded as moderate in comparison with that of adjacent States, but as full in comparison with the pitch of assessment in Kángra and Kulu. It absorbs a relatively small proportion of the theoretical State share, but the data on which the latter was calculated were uncertain and a substantially larger enhancement could not have been taken without hardship, owing to the inequality of the old assessment.

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Land Revenue.

Enhancement of the existing revenue.

Relatively the assessment is heavy in the Harabágh Circle, full in the Maidáni Circle and moderate in the Western and Darmiáni Circles. In the Pahári Circle it is severe, if agricultural conditions alone be considered, but it is moderate if regard be paid to the total burdens which the people have had to bear in the past, and in no other portion of the State will the Settlement confer such immediate benefits.

Abolition of *begár*.

The system of *pála begár* was abolished with effect from 1st January 1917, the only forms of casual *begár* retained being those described on page 190. These entail very light burdens on the people, especially as the rule has now been laid down that every landholder, either personally or through his tenants, is liable to casual *begár*. Formerly, the large number of exemptions increased the calls on the time of those who gave *begár*. The abolition of the system involved considerable administrative changes, the necessary re-adjustments being made in various ways. Compensation was given to private persons entitled to the services of *begárís;* the supply of firewood was undertaken by the Forest Department; the number of subordinate State servants was increased in order to replace *begárís* whose work had been of a permanent character, and arrangements were made to obtain casual labour in the open market. The State has, however, reserved the right to impress labour at a minimum daily wage of 4 annas should the voluntary supply be inadequate. The opportunity was also taken to improve the pay of State subordinates, many of whom were receiving low wages because they were exempt from *begár*. For the carriage of State loads definite rates of hire were fixed, which on the main roads are the same as for private travellers, and elsewhere are as follows :—2 annas for five miles or less; 3 annas for five to eight miles; 4 annas for eight to twelve miles; and an additional anna for every three miles or part of three miles. At the stages on the main roads permanent gangs of coolies are retained who supply the requirements of ordinary travellers, and when not detailed for this work labour on the roads. These measures have given great relief to the people, and their effect should be soon manifest in the more efficient cultivation of the land, especially in the portions of the State adjacent to the main roads. The total cost to the State was about Rs. 22,500, a sum much less than was anticipated, and the relative smallness of which proved clearly the immense wastage of the old system.

System of village officers.

The previous system of village officers varied considerably in different parts of the State; but generally the most important was the *kárdár* whose office corresponded closely to that of a *zaildár* in the Punjab. His *iláqa* sometimes embraced the whole of a *wazíri* and sometimes included only a portion of it. The post of *árdár* had for some years been practically monopolised by

CHAP. III C. — Land Revenue. — System of village officers.

Khatrís of Mandi town who supplied two-thirds of the incumbents. This arrangement was objectionable in many ways and at Settlement a thorough re-organisation was made. The number of *kárdárs* or *pálsrás,* as they are sometimes called, was increased to 40, and a graded system of pay introduced, the maximum remuneration being Rs. 120 per annum and the minimum Rs. 80 per annum. Wherever possible local agriculturists of good family were appointed, and in four cases only were Khatris allowed to retain their posts The office is not hereditary and the duties of the *pálsra* resemble those of the *zaildár* in the plains; but, in addition, he is responsible to see that the burden of casual *begár* is evenly distributed and he is required to assist in the prevention of forest offences, especially incendiarism, and breaches of the fisheries rules. Amongst subordinate village officers there used to be a *thána lambardár* whose duty it was to report offences to the *thána*, to assist the police generally and to help in the service of processes. The collection of revenue and general *lambardári* work was done by the revenue *lambardár*, known under various names and assisted by one or more *guráhkas* of the *zamíndár* class and by a *jelta* of the menial class. There was also a number of *akhars* who were supposed to take the revenue to head-quarters and act generally as State messengers. Some of the village officers received a nominal salary, but the majority undertook the very light duties involved in order to escape *begár*. There was no method in the distribution of these officers nor in the size of their *iláqás.* The system has now been thoroughly overhauled. The *thána lambardárs*, the *akhars* and the *guráhkas* have been abolished and only the offices of *lambardár* and *jelta* retained. The number of both has been increased and a *jelta* given to each *lambardár*. The duties of the latter are the same as in British territory with the additional responsibilities in regard to *begár* and the prevention of the forest offences described in the case of the *pálsras*. The office is not hereditary, but, other things being equal, preference is given to hereditary claims.

The *jeltas* belong to the menial classes. They correspond roughly to the *chowkidárs* of the plains and are the jackals of the *lambardárs*. In particular, they help in the collection of casual *begárís*. The *jelta* has considerable authority, and not infrequently is more efficient than the *lambardár*.

Revision of revenue assignments.

The revision of revenue assignments was an important part of the Settlement There were many grants the justification for which had ceased to exist, and others which had been diverted from the purpose for which they were given. Many assignments were therefore resumed, while the rest were placed on a proper basis. The *jágírs* of the ladies of the ruling family and of the

leading Miáns were confirmed for life or the period of Settlement without the resumption of any part of the excess area of which they were in possession Religious grants were confirmed in perpetuity; but part of the excess area was not released and other grants were disposed of according to circumstances.

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Land Revenue.
Revision of revenue assignments.

The area now assigned revenue-free is 13,004 acres, of which the assessment is Rs. 31,000. The conditions attaching to all revenue-free grants in addition to any special terms prescribed in the *sántha* are as follows :—

They are dependent on the will of the Rája, conditional on loyalty and good conduct, and cannot be alienated permanently or temporarily nor leased for cultivation for more than five years without the sanction of the Rája. All increase in area is liable to assessment. *Sásins* (religious grants in perpetuity) are further conditional on the holders praying for the long life and welfare of the Rája.

Certain assignees are entitled to take light *begár* from their tenants, but in no case can they exact more than they have taken in the past nor more than the State itself takes from land-holders in general.

Cesses and miscellaneous.

The cesses, at 20 per cent. of the land revenue proper, are distributed as follows :—

(1) Cess in lieu of *begár* and *khidmat*	...	10 per cent.
(2) *Patwári* cess	... ...	4 „
(3) *Pálsrái* cess	... ...	1 „
(4) *Lambardári* cess	... ...	3 „
(5) Other village officers	... ...	2 „

All assignees within the area assigned and others exempted by special order are excused the 10 per cent. *begári* cess. Certain members of the ruling family have been exempted as a special concession from the payment of all cesses, but this privilege is liable to withdrawal at any time at the will of the Rája. With these exceptions, all *málguzárs* are liable to the payment of cesses in full.

The period of Settlement was sanctioned by Government at 20 years. It was introduced in four circles with effect from *kharíf* 1916 and in the Pahári Circle with effect from *rabi* 1917.

The cost of Settlement operations amounted to Rs. 2,98,660 (approximate). The net gain to the State was Rs. 81,000, after deduction of all charges on account of the abolition of *begár* and the establishment of a proper system of village officers. The cost

CHAP. III. C.
Land Revenue.
Permanent revenue establishment.

of the Settlement will thus be recovered in about three-and-a-half years.

For the maintenance of the revenue records the permanent revenue establishment maintained consists of—

4 Tahsíldárs.	1 Sadr Kánúngo
1 Náib Tahsíldár.	2 Assistant Sadr Kánúngos.
8 Field Kánúngos.	1 Muáfi Muharrir.
69 Patwárís.	

Their chief duties are the measurement of new cultivation, the entry of changes in title, the periodical revision of the *jamabandi* and crop inspection at each harvest.

When the decentralisation of *tahsíls* is completed, there will be an Office Kánúngo at each *tahsíl* head-quarters.

SECTION D.—Miscellaneous Revenue.

CHAP. III. D.

Miscellaneous Revenue.

Excise.

The system of excise is simple. The State is divided into nine what may be called distillery areas and the right to distil liquor within each of these is auctioned yearly. Within the distillery area the number and location of retail shops are fixed, and the contractor makes his own arrangements for sale, subject to the approval of the State, taking out a retail vend license for each vend permises. Distillation is carried out on a relatively small scale and there are no definitely prescribed standards of strength. Three qualities are recognised, of which the present prices per bottle of 12 *chitáks* are 14 annas, 8 annas and 5 annas, respectively, except in the Bahl *iláqa* where the competition of Suket vendors has made it necessary to fix prices at 14 annas, 8 annas and 3 annas, respectively. The number of distilleries has quite recently been reduced from 15 to 9, and of shops from 125 to 40. Special efforts have been made to check drunkenness in the Bahl where the evil is widespread, but success cannot be attained until the Suket Durbar adopts similar measures in the tract along the border. Negotiations have been proceeding for some time, and His Highness the Raja of Suket has promised full co-operation immediately the current contracts in Suket expire.

The existing system of excise is the best available under existing conditions; but, when funds permit, it is proposed to build a central distillery at Mandi itself, manage this departmentally and issue licenses for retail vend. The excise establishment consists of one Sub-Inspector only. Illicit distillation is rare; but other infringements of the excise rules are not uncommon.

The right to brew and sell the hill beers is auctioned in the same way, but so far no tax has been imposed on the large number of persons who brew for home consumption.

The licensee for *charas* is also an annual contractor, the retail shops to the number sanctioned being under his control. He imports the *charas* from Hoshiárpur under a permit countersigned by the Commissioner of the Jullundur Division. The consumption is small and is mostly confined to the city.

A certain amount of opium is grown in the hill tracts, but very little is exported from the State. The people of Mandi town, especially the Khatrís, take opium in small quantities, it being the recognised custom to give it to children as a soporific. The licenses issued by the State are either for retail sale, or for wholesale purchase from producers and subsequent sale.

For 1916-17 the excise revenue amounted to Rs. 44,500 (approximate), but this was considerably below the figures of the

CHAP. III. D.
Miscellaneous Revenue.
Excise.

previous year, the decline being due to the closure of many shops and the enhancement of prices. It should, however, be feasible to increase the income substantially, consistent with a decline in consumption, and this is the present aim of the State policy; but it will take several years before the results are apparent.

Other miscellaneous revenue.

Formerly it was customary to lease out many miscellaneous taxes and dues on contract; but, except in a few cases, the practice led to abuse and loss to the State. Many of the miscellaneous imposts have now been merged in the land-revenue; while, as already noted, regular fees will take the place of collections in cash and kind on account of grazing rights. There are still several sources of revenue which can most conveniently be auctioned: such are the realisation of tolls on the Beás and Uhl bridges, and the lease of slate quarries.

The approximate annual income derived from these sources is as follows:—

	Rs.
Bridge tolls	8,000
City shop-tax	3,700
Iláqa shop-tax	520
Slate quarries	2,000
Tea gardens	4,500

Court-fee and non-judicial stamps

A regular system of court-fees and non-judicial stamps is in force, the incidence being generally somewhat less than in British territory. The stamps are sold to the public through authorised vendors, those at headquarters being allowed commission at the rate of 2 per cent. on sales and those in the *iláqa* at 6¼ per cent.

The stamps in use are as follows:—

Impressed petition paper	... Half an anna.
Adhesive receipt stamp	... One anna.
Adhesive court-fee stamps	... One anna to ten rupees.
Impressed court-fee stamps	... Fifteen and twenty rupees.
Impressed non-judicial stamps	... Two annas to ten rupees.

The approximate annual income is Rs. 22,000.

SECTION E—Police, Jail and Army.

CHAP. III. E.

Police, Jail and Army.

Police.

There are nine police stations as follows with a Sub-Inspector in charge of each:—

Sadr Kotwáli.	Sarka Ghát.
Harabágh.	Hatli.
Drang.	Bahl.
Sandhol.	Chachiot.

Saráj.

To the Saráj *thána* is attached a police outpost at Báli in charge of a head constable.

There is one Inspector, who is at present also the Subedár of the State Army. There is in addition a Court-Inspector at Sadr. There are, in all, 5 head constables and 94 constables. They are now permanent servants, the system having been recently abolished by which the holders of service grants served for a month or two every few years. The working of the police is fair; but there are as yet few trained officers and the procedure cannot therefore be as elaborate as in the Punjab. Fortunately, the work they are called upon to do is not difficult. Crime is light, the most common offences relating to the sale, kidnapping and abduction of women and girls. There are a few petty thefts, and drunkenness in the Bahl leads to occasional broken heads. Otherwise, the people are law abiding, serious crime being rare.

Jail.

The jail contains accommodation for 50 prisoners, but is rarely filled. The inmates work mostly on the roads and in the State gardens Breaches of jail discipline are rare, the prisoners, as a rule, being a thoroughly happy and contented lot on friendly terms with each other, the warders and the outside public.

Army.

The army is under the command of the Subedár, and consists of 230 files, of whom 9 are sowars and 25 are bandsmen. There is half a company of Ruhelás, or irregulars, most of whom are Patháns who settled in Mandi very many years ago. The army is regularly drilled and discipline is fair. It parades on all ceremonial occasions such as the great religious festivals of the year; but its ordinary function is to supply guards and sentinels for the Palace and various State departments. It is now composed entirely of permanent servants, the rent-free tenures on condition of military service having been resumed at Settlement.

SECTION F.—Education.

CHAP. III. F.

Education.

The most important school in the State is the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School at Mandi itself, where the number of boys exceeds 500. Of these about one-half receive instruction in English, the rest being taught Urdu. The scholars are mainly Khatrís and Brahmans of Mandi town, but there is a fair sprinkling of agriculturists and a few boys of the lower castes. The building is a good one; but the rapid increase in numbers has put a severe strain on the available accommodation, and it will be necessary to find other buildings for the primary department. The staff is adequate in numbers, but mostly untrained, and the main efforts of the Durbár during recent years have been to provide trained teachers. Several have been secured and youths of promise are being sent each year to various training institutions. The moral tone and discipline are satisfactory ; the boys are keen on games ; first aid lectures have been introduced; a students' club is doing useful work and special attention is paid to physical culture. The standard of education is as good as can be expected from the subordinate staff available. The townspeople are very keen on educating their sons and are anxious that a high school should be opened This should be feasible in the near future so soon as the necessary staff can be obtained and the principle recognised that higher education is a luxury which must be paid for.

There are twenty-two rural schools in which education is either up to the primary standard or consists of simple instruction in Hindi and Sanskrit. Some of the buildings have been erected by public-spirited individuals, and others by public subscription supplemented by State grants. It is intended to open a vernacular middle school at the head-quarters of the Sarka Ghát and Harabágh *tahsíls* as early as possible, and generally to equip the agricultural classes with the education essential to State employment.

Female education has so far made little progress, but there is a girls' school at Mandi which is attended by the daughters of Brahmans and Khatr s, and one girls' school in the village of Baroli in Harabágh.

The State spends approximately Rs. 22,000 a year on education.

SECTION G. Medical and Sanitation.

The State is very badly provided with medical institutions. The King Edward VII Hospital at Mandi is under the charge of a retired Sub-Assistant Surgeon and during recent years some 12,000 out-door and 70 in-door patients have been treated annually: it is a badly designed and inadequate building. CHAP. III. G. — Medical and Sanitation.

There is also a Zanána hospital at Mandi under the care of a Female Sub-Assistant Surgeon where about 2,000 cases are treated annually. It is at present housed in a building situated in the middle of the city, but proposals are under consideration for the construction of a commodius and fully-equipped hospital

There are no dispensaries in the district, and the only medical relief readily accessible to the people is afforded by the occasional tours of compounders. Now that the finances of the State are in a sound condition, it will be practicable to establish a dispensary at each of the three out-lying *tahsíl* head-quarters.

In Mandi City malaria, phthysis—especially among the women—and liver complaints are common; in the district, fevers, eye complaints, goitre and venereal diseases are most prevalent. Typhus fever is endemic in some parts of Saráj, and cholera epidemics are not unknown in the lower *wazírís*. The people have no idea of sanitation; but they are quite ready to follow advice when an outbreak occurs, although they soon return to their old habits. The Ayurvedic system has many adherents and there are several practitioners in Mandi town. Of these Vaid Vidya Ságar was, until his death in 1918, the State Vaid and used to attend well over 5,000 cases a year.

A somewhat serious outbreak of cholera occurred in Mandi town in the summer of 1918 and sporadic outbursts followed in various parts of the State.

During the following winter influenza appeared in the State and caused great havoc, especially among the rural population.

The sanitation of Mandi town is under the control of the Municipal Committee which carries out its duties satisfactorily, its main difficulty being the scarcity of sweepers. The town is paved with stone and this considerably facilitates the sanitary work, as well as giving at least an outward appearance of neatness and cleanliness.

CHAPTER IV.—Places of Interest.

CHAP. IV.

Places of Interest.

Mandi Town.

Mandi town, which is picturesquely situated, on the Beás is the capital and only place of any importance in the State. The town itself is about 2,400 feet above sea-level, the temple of Shiáma Káli which is situated on a ridge overlooking the town being some 500 feet higher. The Beás separates the old from the new town, but the former is now of little importance and interest, and is occupied by a few Brahman and Rájpút families. The modern town lies on the left bank and the approach from the Victoria Bridge gives perhaps the most favourable view of it, the temples and rock carvings by the edge of the river adding much to the natural picturesqueness of the entrance.

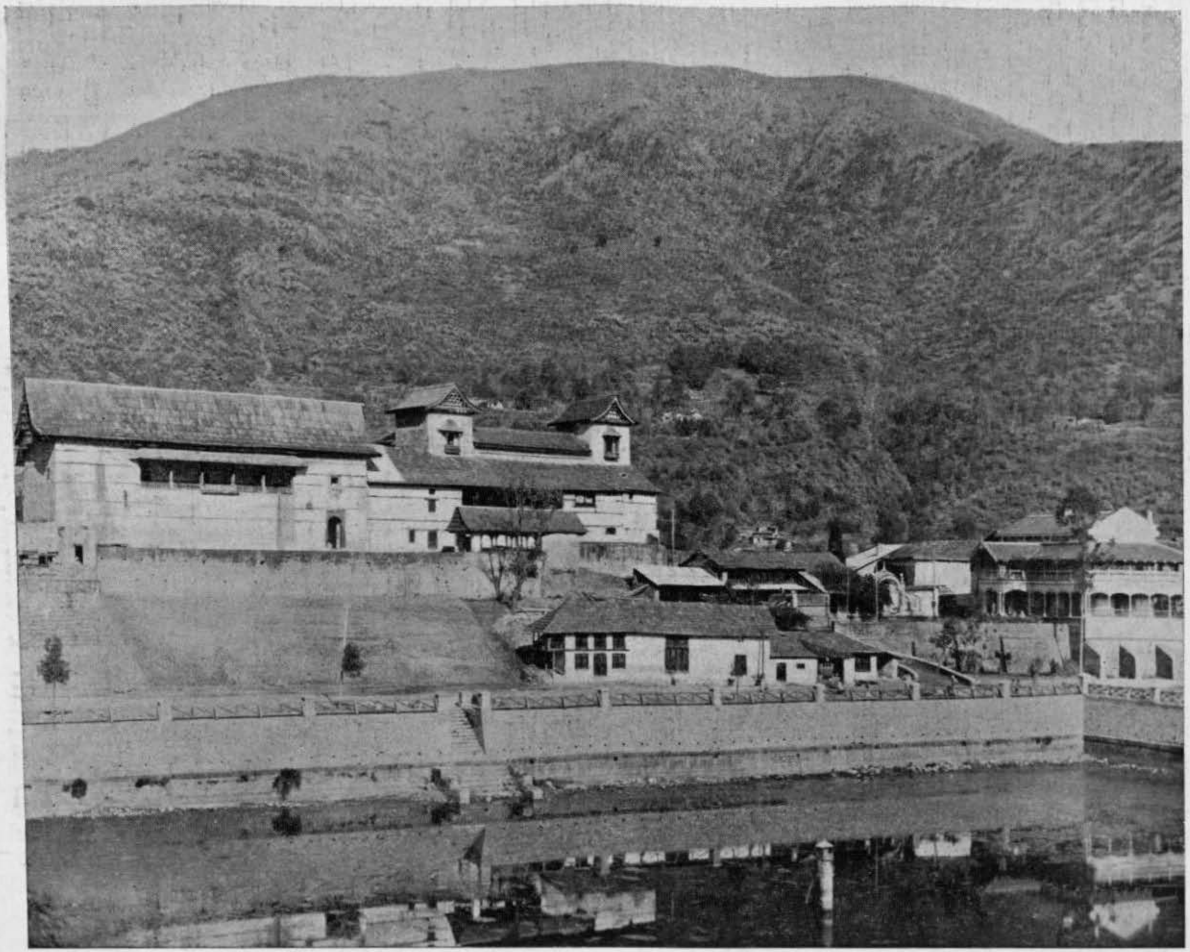
The temples of Mandi are the chief objects of architectural and antiquarian interest and for an account of these the reader is referred to an earlier section (page 17).

The palace has received additions at various times, but the different styles of architecture do not produce an unpleasing effect. The oldest portion is the Damdama palace, built by Rája Súraj Sen in 1625 and has the distinctive curved roof usually associated in the hills only with the dwellings of Rájas and gods. The Mádho Ráo temple occupies the greater part of the lower storey, and it is still customary to hold certain State ceremonies in the apartments above it. The rest of the building suffered severely from the earthquake and some of the rooms are hardly fit for habitation. The recent restoration of one of the towers has greatly improved its appearance, as has also the removal of the unsightly sheds between it and the Seri Tank.

The Naya Mahal was built by Rája Balbír Sen and was used by him partly as a residence and partly as a court. Durbárs were also held in it, but a new Durbár Hall was built by Rája Bhiwáni Sen a few years ago, and though of unimposing design well serves the purpose for which it was built. The Bhiwáni Nawás was commenced by the late Rája as a residence for himself and is planned on modern lines.

In front of the palace is the large Seri Tank with a stone pillar in the middle supporting a lamp. Beneath it is supposed to lie the head of Pirthi Pál, Rána of Bhangál, who was treacherously murdered by Rája Sidh Sen when on a visit to the capital. To placate his ghost the lamp is lit every evening. The walls of the tank are being rebuilt and surmounted by a neat railing.

The removal of the State stables from the side of the tank and the conversion of their site into a garden is now in progress



The Palace from across the Seri Tank.

and will greatly enhance the picturesqueness of the tank and of the palace.

The royal cemetery in which the *barsela* monuments are situated is just outside the town below the Mandi-Suket road.

Riwálsar.

The Riwálsar Lake lies about 12 miles south-west of Mandi, some 4,000 feet about sea level. It is situated in a cup of the hills of considerable natural beauty. The water of the lake is very deep and clear, but the surface is broken by floating islands ascribed to the sanctity of Padma Sambhava with whom the Hindús have confused Rishi Lomas. The islands on calm days usually cling close to the banks, but a small breeze sets them in motion and the phenomenon is regarded both by Buddhists and Hindús as a miracle of the presiding saint. The lake is a well known place of pilgrimage for the adherents of both religions, the Buddhists congregating in the winter months and holding their festival in Phágan, while the Hindús come mainly on the first of Baisákh.

Riwálsar, as is usual with stretches of water in the hills, is associated with snake worship. The Buddhists believe that beneath its waters are the mansions of the Nágs or *lus* as they call them and they attribute an outlet of the lake to the path of one of these subterranean serpents. On the Mandi-Suket road about six miles from Mandi there is a small pool of translucent water fed by a stream which is supposed to flow under ground from Riwálsar some 10 miles distant. The place is known as Nágchala, the path of the serpent, and the name illustrates a common form of Himalayan myth.

In the cold weather large flocks of duck visit the lake, but these are not permitted to be shot, even though the guns are posted at some distance from the lake itself. The birds, so says the *láma*, are the servants of the saint Sambhava and their death occasions him grief.

Kamláh Fort.

The Fort of Kamláh is one of the most interesting places in the State. It is situated close to the Hamírpur border on the crest of an isolated and precipitous hill, the ridge being narrow and serrated with deep ravines running down the face. The fort was founded by Rája Súraj Sen about 1625 A. D., the propitious site for it having been revealed by a miracle. A shepherd of the neighbourhood was grazing his flocks when he sat down beneath a tree on the summit of the hill now crowned by the fort. As he sat, he idly chipped the tree with his axe and to his astonishment milk gushed forth from the incisions he made. The milk fell on a spot a few feet away from the tree and a it touched the ground a *lingam* rose therefrom. This was the idol of a *Siddh*, and, speak-

CHAP. IV — Places of Interest. — Kamláh Fort.

ing in the voice of the saint, it bade the peasant hasten to the Rája and tell him that if he built his citadel close to the *lingam* he would conquer the territory around. So the shepherd hurried to the Rája, who, believing his tale, at once laid the foundation of the fort, venerating as its guardian spirit the *Siddh* to whom he owed the choice of site. The *Siddh* is still worshipped there and his shrine enjoys an endowment from the State.

The fort was of great strength, its natural advantages being turned to the best account in the arrangement of the fortifications. The first part of the approach was along a steep narrow pathway rising in steps and commanded for its whole length by loop-holed bastions. Rather more than half-way up was the gateway, capable of holding a strong guard and offering an excellent point of resistance to an enemy that succeeded in reaching so far. Almost on the top of the ridge was the citadel, provided with ample accommodation for a large garrison and with store-houses where considerable stocks of grain could be kept. The weak point was the scarcity of water, but this was surmounted to a considerable extent by the construction of reservoirs out of the solid rock and these were always kept filled in troublous times. The fort is now in bad repair, but still well repays a visit. A small establishment is retained there, and until the last few years distributions of grain were made from the local granary to *zamíndárs* in times of scarcity. There is a large stock of *ghi* of great age and quite unfit for human consumption; but it is much valued for medicinal purposes and the natives believe it to be an infallible ointment for rheumatic and similar complaints. The collection of ancient arms and clothes is of interest.

Nawáhi.

Nawáhi is situated on the Hamírpur border in the western portion of the State. The name is variously derived, but the most probable derivation relates to the fact that there were formerly nine temples situated there. At present there are three or four shrines only, the most important being that of Nawáhi Devi, the rest being mostly small *shiválás*. The temples are said to have been despoiled by Muhammadans, but while they were still busy with their looting a shower of cannon balls fell from heaven and drove them off. To the sceptical one of the balls is shown, still perched, as it fell, on a broken column.

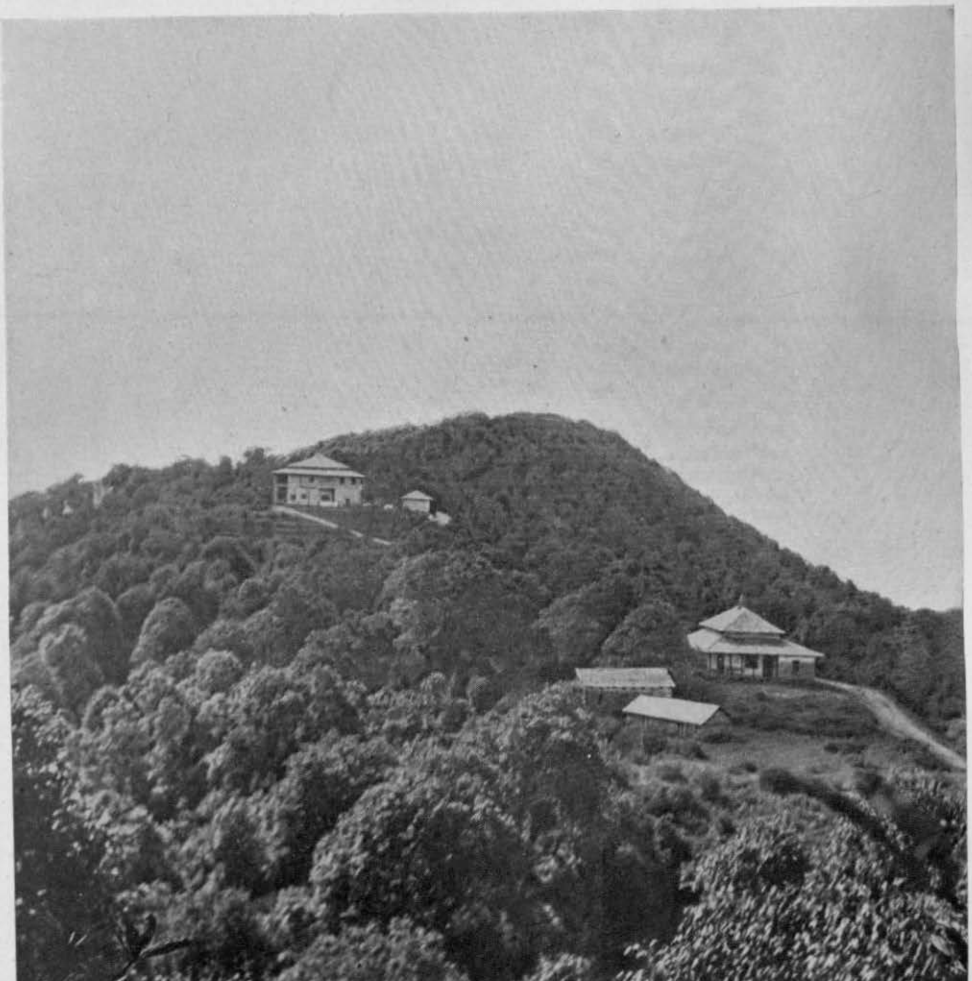
The people of the neighbourhood place memorial tablets of the dead in the courtyard of the shrine, and Gosáíns are also buried there in sitting posture, tumuli of conical shape being erected over them.

A large fair is held in June when about ten thousand votaries from Mandi and Kángra gather together.



Gateway leading to the Dam-dama.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919



Jhatingri.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1919.

CHAP. IV.

Places of Interest.

Parásar.

Parásar is about 20 miles north-east of Mandi. It is a large lake with a pagoda-shaped wooden temple on its edge: this lake like Riwálsar contains floating islands. A large fair takes place here in June when Mandi and Kulu people to the number of four thousand gather together ; wool and blankets are largely sold.

Bairkot.

The fort of Bairkot in Mandi was built by Bír Singh, Rája of Suket, who conquered the Rána of Hatli in order to defend the Hamírpur border. The Mandi Rájas did not approve of this advance on the part of Suket, and made several attempts to wrest the fort from that State Isri Sen, Rája of Mandi, with the help of Kahlúr took it in 1808. It is still in good repair.

Jhatingri.

Jhatingri is the summer head-quarters of the administration and is prettily situated on the Ghogar Dhár at an elevation of 6,600 feet, where it is crossed by the road leading over the Bhubu pass into Kulu. During the present Rája's minority he spends part of the summer there with his tutor. In addition to the Residency there is a good dâk bungalow, and another house usually occupied by the Ráni. There is also a *sarái* and a small bazaar. Jhatingri is easily accessible, being only three miles from the main Mandi-Pálampur road near Urla. There are beautiful deodár and blue pine forests in the vicinity, and ferns and wild flowers grow in great profusion.

APPENDIX I.

THE DIALECTS OF MANDI AND SUKET.

BY

The Revd. T. Grahame Bailey, B.D., M.R.A.S.

INTRODUCTION.

Maṇḍī and Sukēt are two important states lying between Simla and Kāṇgrā proper with Kulū for their eastern boundary. They form part of the central linguistic wedge between Chamba and the Simla States, it being noticeable that north of Kāṇgrā and south of Sukēt certain linguistic peculiarities are found which are not observed in the central area. The future in *l* alluded to in the Introduction to the Chamba Dialects (see Appendix to Gazetteer of Chamba State) is a good example of this. In the central wedge the future is in *g* or *gh*, whereas to the north and south and east it is in *l*.

The main Maṇḍī dialect is rather widely spread. It is found with very little change over all the western and northern portions of the State. It is also spoken in the capital, and extends without much variation southwards into Sukēt. In the following pages a grammar of this dialect is given, followed by brief paradigms to illustrate the northern dialects. The centre of North Maṇḍĕāḷī may be taken to be Jhaṭiṅgrī half-way between Sultānpūr and Pālampūr. Chōṭā Baṅghāḷī, as alluded to in the following pages, is spoken in that portion of Chōṭā Baṅghāḷ which lies in the extreme northern portion of Maṇḍī State. In the south-east portion of the State called Maṇḍī Sirāj, the dialect spoken is still Maṇḍĕāḷī, but it shows resemblances to Inner Sirājī, the dialect of the northern half of the Sirāj Taḥsīl of Kuḷū.

In Maṇḍĕāḷī the genitive is formed by the postposition *rā*, the Dative by *jō*, and the Ablative by *gē* or *thē*.

Although the dialect shows many traces of the influence of Panjābī, it keeps clear of that influence in the Plural of nouns, which is in the Oblique generally the same as the Singular except in the Vocative case. In parts of the State we have the special Fem. Oblique form for 3rd Pers. Pronouns so characteristic of Kuḷū and the Simla States. The future is either indeclinable in —*ṇg* or declinable in —*ghā*.

The Pres. Part. in composition is indeclinable, as *karā̃ hā*, is doing, which reminds us of the Kashmiri participle *karān*. Another resemblance to Kas͟hmiri is in the confusion between *e* and *ye*. Thus we find *tĕs* used interchangeably with *tyĕs*, *ĕs* with *yĕs*, *ētthī* with *iētthī* (*yētthī*). The interchange of *s* and *h* finds frequent exemplification in the hill states, *e.g.*, in the Pres. Auxiliary *hā* and *sā* or *āsā*. See the dialects passim.

Maṇḍĕāḷī has a Stative Participle in —*īrā*, thus *pairā*, in the state of having fallen, *pīīrā*, in the state of having been drunk. The peculiarity of the verb *bāhṇā*, beat, has been alluded to under the Verb in Maṇḍĕāḷī and Choṭā Baṅghāḷī, and under the latter dialect will be found a reference to an interesting undeclined participle used in the Passive to give the sense of *ability*.

In Sukēt there are said to be three dialects—Pahāṛ, Ḍahr and Bahal, but this is obviously an over-refinement. I have not had an opportunity of studying them at first hand, and therefore make the following remarks with some reserve.

The Singular of nouns is practically the same as in Maṇḍĕāḷī, but in the Plural Panjābī influence is shown in the Oblique termination —ā̃. The Agent Plural, however, ends in —*iē̃*. *thē* is used for the Ablative postposition, *gē* being generally kept for the purpose of comparison of Adjectives. The pronouns are almost the same as in Maṇḍĕāḷī.

In Verbs we find that the Ḍahr dialect resembles Panjābī in its Pres. Part. in —*dā*, and in its Past Part. in —*ĕā*. The Bahal dialect has its Pres. Indic. like Maṇḍĕāḷī, as *mārā̃ hā*, but in the Imperfect has the peculiar double form, *mārā̃ hā thā*, he was beating, *mārā̃ hē thē*, they were beating. The Sukētī dialects make their future in *gh* and possibly *g* or *ṇg*, and have the Stative Participle in - *īrā*, as *mārīrā*, in the state of having been beaten. The Auxiliary Present and Past is the same as in Maṇḍĕāḷī.

The system of transliteration is that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. i denotes the sound half-way between *i* and *ī*, *u* italicised in a word printed in ordinary type is half-way between *u* and *ū*; *eu* similarly italicised represents the sound of *e* in French *je*; *c* is the sound of *ch* in *child*, *ch* is the corresponding aspirate.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

25th February, 1905.

MAṆḌEĀLĪ. [Maṇḍēāḷī.]

NOUNS.

Masculine.

Nouns in -ā.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
N.	ghōr–ā, horse	–ē
G.	– ē rā	as Sing.
D. A.	– ē jō	"
L.	– ē manjhā	"
Ab.	– ē gē, thē	"
Ag.	– ē	"
V.	– ĕā	–ĕō

Nouns in a Consonant.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
N.	ghar, house	as Sing.
G. D. A. L. Ab.	ghar-ā, rā, &c.	
Ag.	–ē	"
V.	–ā	–ō

Nouns in ī.

N.	hāth-ī, elephant	as Sing.
G. D. A. L. Ab.	–ī rā, &c.	"
Ag.	–īē	"
V.	–īā	–īō

Nouns in *-ū*, such as *hindū*, Hindu, are declined like those in -ī–*bāb*, father, is declined like *ghar*, except that the second *b* is doubled before any additions.

Feminine.

Nouns in –ī.

N.	bēṭ–ī, daughter	as Sing.
G. D. A. L. Ab.	-ī rā, &c.	"
Ag.	–īē	"
V.	–īē	īō

Maṇḍeāḷī.

Nouns in a Consonant

	Singular.	*Plural.*
N.	baih-ṇ.	ṇī
G. D. A. L. Ab.	-ṇī rā, &c.	as Sing.
Ag.	-ṇīē	,,
V.	-ṇī	ṇīō

PRONOUNS.

Singular.

	1st	2nd	3rd	ēh, this.
N.	haū̃	tū̃	sē	ēh
G.	mērā	tērā	tĕs rā (or tyĕs or tis)	ĕs rā (yĕs)
D. A.	mā̃jō	tūjō	,, &c.	,, &c.
L.	mā̃ bhītar, manjhā	tuddh, &c.	,,	,,
Ab.	māthē	tutthē	,,	,,
Ag.	maī	taī	tinē	īnē
N.	āssē	tussē	sēō̃	ēh
G.	āssā rā, mhārā	tussā rā	tinhā rā	īnhā rā
D. A.	āssā jō	,, &c.	,, &c.	,, &c.
L.	,, &c.	,,	,,	,,
Ab.	,,	,,	,,	,,
Ag.	āssē̃	tussē̃	tinhē	īnhē

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
N.	kuṇ, who,	jō, who	kuṇ	jĕō̃
Obl.	kĕs, &c.	jĕs, &c.	kīnhā	jīnhā
Ag.	kūnē	jīnē	kīnhē	jīnhē

kyā, what? has Obl. *kiddhī*.

Other pronouns are *kōī*, someone, anyone, *kich*, something, anything; *har kōī*, whosoever; *har kich*, whatsoever.

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives used as nouns are declined as nouns, but adjectives qualifying nouns have the following declension:—All adjectives ending in any letter other than *ā* are indec. Those ending in *-ā* have Obl. *-ē*.

Pl. *-ē*, indec. Fem. *-ī* indec. It should be noted that the genitives of nouns and pronouns are adjectives coming under this rule.

Comparison is expressed by means of *gē*, from, than, as *kharā*, good *ĕs gē kharā*, better than this, *sabbhī gē kharā*, better than all, best.

Demonstrative.	*Correlative.*	*Interrogative.*	*Relative.*
ēṛhā, like that or this	tēṛhā, like that or this	kēṛhā, like what ?	jēṛhā, like which
itnā, so much or many	titnā, so much or many	kitnā, how much or many ?	jitnā, as much or many.

ADVERBS.

Most adjectives can be used as adverbs. They then agree with the subject of the sentence. The following is a list of the most important adverbs other than adjectives :—

Time.	*Place.*
ēbbē, huṇ, now	ētthī, here
tēbbē, then	tētthī, there
kēbbē, when ?	kētthī, where ?
jēbbē, when	jētthī, where
āj, to-day	ētthī tikkī, up to here
kāl, to-morrow	iētthī tē, from here
dōthī, to-morrow morning	ūprā, up
parsī, day after to-morrow	bun, down
cauthē, day after that	nēḍē, near
kāl, yesterday	dūr, far
parsī, day before yesterday	aggē, in front
cauthē, day before that	picchē, behind
kadhī, sometimes, ever	bhīttar, inside.
kadhī na, never	bāhar, outside
kadhī kadhī, sometimes	

Others are *kī*, why, *idhī rē kaṭṭhē*, for this reason, *hā*, yes, *sitābī*, quickly.

PREPOSITIONS.

The commonest prepositions have been given in the declension of nouns.

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Subjoined is a brief list of others. The same word is often both a preposition and an adverb.

pār, beyond	tērē katṭhē, about thee
wār, on this side	mā̃ sāhī, āssā sāhī, like me, like us.
whittar, manjhē, manjh, within	tinhā bakkhā, towards them
prallē, upon	tētāge prānt, after that
hēṭh, below	idhī rē ōrē parē, round about it
tīkā tikkī, up to	tūssa barābar, equal to you
mā̃ nēḍē, beside me	māthē partēg, apart from me
mā̃ sāṇgī, with me	
tĕsjō, for him	

VERBS.

Auxiliary.

Pres.	I am, &c.	Sing. hā,	*f.* hī,	Plur. hē	*f.* hī.
Past	I was, &c.	Sing. thā,	*f.* thī	Plur. thē	*f.* thī.

Intransitive Verbs.

pauṇā, fall.

Fut.	Sing. paũgh -ā *f.* -ī Pl. -ē *f.* -ī, also pauṇg indecl.
Imperat.	pau pauā
Pres. Indic.	paũã indec. with hā, *f.* hi Pl. hē, hī
Impf. Indic.	,, ,, ,, thā, thī, thē, thī
Past Cond.	paund-ā (-ī -ē -ī)
Past Indic.	pēā *f.* pēī
Pres. Perf.	pēā hā, &c.
Plupf.	pēā thā, &c.
Participle	*paīkē*, having fallen, *paundē hī* on falling, *paīrā*, in the state of having fallen, *paundē*, while falling, *pauṇēwāḷā*, faller or about to fall.

Some verbs have slight irregularities.

hōṇā, be, become.

Fut.	hũghā or hūṇg
Pres. Indic.	hūã hā
Past. Cond.	hundā
Past Indic.	hūā

auṇā, come.

Fut.	āũghā or āuṇg
Pres. Indic.	āūą hą

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Past Cond. aundā
Past Indic. āyā
Participle *āīkē*, having come, *āīrā*, in the state of having come.

jāṇā, go.

Imperat. jā jā
Pres. Indic. jāhā̃ hā
Past Cond. jāndā
Past Indic. gēā
Participle *jāīkē*, having gone ; *gēīrā*, in the state of having gone.

raihṇā, remain.

Fut. rahaṇghā or rahaṇg
Imperat. raith rahā
Pres. Indic. rahā̃ hā
Past rēhā

baiṭhṇā, sit.

Fut. baiṭhghā or baiṭhaṇg
Past Cond. baiṭhdā

Transitive Verbs.

mārnā, beat, strike, in general like *pauṇā*.

Fut. mārghā or māraṇg
Pres. Indic. mārā̃ hā
Past Cond. mārdā
Past Indic. mārĕā, with agent case of subject, mārĕā agreeing with object.
Pres. Perf. mārĕā hā, with agent case of subject, mārĕā hā agreeing with object.
Plupf. mārĕā thā, with agent case of subject, mārĕā thā agreeing with object.
Participle mārirā, in the state of having been beaten.

The passive is formed by using the past part *mārĕā*, with the required tense of *jāṇā*, go, *marĕa jāṇā*, be beaten. The passive is not very common.

The following are slightly irregular :—

khāṇā, eat.

Fut. khā̃ghā or khāṇg
Pres. Indic. khāhā̃ hā
Past Indic. khādhā
Participle khādhīrā, in the state of having been eaten.

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pīṇā, drink.

Past pītā

Participle pītīrā, in the state of having been drunk.

dēṇā, give

Pres. Indic. dēhā̃ hā

Past dittā

Participle dittīrā, in the state of having been given.

laiṇā, take.

Fut. laṇghā or laṇg

Pres. Indic. lahā̃ hā

karnā, do.

Past kitā

lẽauṇā, bring, like *auṇā*, but

Past lēī āyā

lēī jāṇā, take away, like *jāṇā*.

There is a noticeable peculiarity about the past of *bāhṇā*, beat, strike (Fut. *bāhaṇgā*, *bāhaṇg*). The past is always used in the Fem. I beat him is *maī tēsjō bāhī*. Apparently the verb is in agreement with some fem. noun not expressed. The understood word would naturally have the meaning of 'blow.' See also under the Banghāḷī dialect.

Compound Verbs.

Habit, Continuance, State..

I am in the habit of falling, *haũ paiā karā̃ hā* (compounded with *karnā*, do).

I continue falling, *haũ paundā rahā̃* (compounded with *raihṇā*, remain).

I am in the act of falling, *haũ paundā lagīrā hā* (compounded with *laggṇā*, stick).

LIST OF COMMON NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND VERBS.

ghōṛā, horse.	biāhū, husband.
bāb, bāpū, father.	lāṛī, wife.
māī, mother.	mardh, man.
bhāī, brother.	janānē, women.
bōbbō, elder sister.	maṭṭhā, boy.
baihṇ, younger sister.	maṭṭhī, girl.
gābhrū, beṭā, son.	puhāl, shepherd.
bēṭī, daughter.	cōr, thief.

Maṇḍeāḷī.

LIST OF COMMON NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND VERBS—*continued.*

ghōṛā, horse.
ghōṛī, mare.
baḷd, ox.
gāī, cow.
mhaīs, buffalo.
bakr-ā, he-goat.
-ī, she „
bhēḍ, sheep.
kutt-ā, dog.
—ī, bitch.
rīcch, bear.
barāgh, leopard.
gaddhā, ass.
sūr, pig.
kūkk-aṛ, cock.
-ṛī, hen.
bill-ā, cat (male).
-ī, „ (female).
ūṭ, camel.
panchī, paṇkhērū, bird.
īl, kite.
hāthī, elephant.
hāth, hand.
pair, pāõ, foot.
nāk, nose.
hākkhī, eye.
mũh, face.
dānd, tooth.
kān, ear.
saruāḷ, kēs, hair.
mūṇḍ, sīr, head.
jībh, tongue.
pīṭh, back.
pēṭ, stomach.
sarīṛ, body.
pōthī, book.
kalam, pen.
mānjā, bed.
ghar, house.
daryāō, river.
dhārā, hill.
pādhar, plain.
ḍōhrī, field.
rōṭī, bread.
pāṇī, water.
kaṇak, wheat.
challī, maize.
ḍāḷ, tree.
grāõ, village.
nagar, city.
baṇ, jungle.
macchī, fish.
paiṇḍā, way.
phaḷ, fruit.
māss, meat.
duddh, milk.
battī, ānnī, egg.
ghīū, ghi.
tēl, oil.
chāh, buttermilk.
dhiāṛā, day.
rāt, night.
sūrj, sun.
candarmā, moon.
tāra, star.
bāgar, wind.
pāṇī barkhā, rain.
dhūppā, sunshine.
gird, stormy wind.
bhārā, load.
biū, seed.
lōhā, iron.
kharā, good.
burā, bad.
baḍḍā, big.
halkā, little.
dalidrī, lazy.
aklīwāḷā, wise.
bhaćēāḷ, foolish
tātā, swift.

Maṇḍeālī.

LIST OF COMMON NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND VERBS—*continued.*

khāḍ, stream.
uccā, high.
gōrā, kharā, beautiful.
kubhadrā, ugly.
ṭhaṇḍā, cold.
tāttā, hot.
guḍlā, mīṭṭhā, sweet.
hacchā, clean.
ghaṭ, little.
bahut, much.
hōṇā, be, become.
auṇā, come.
jāṇā, go.
baiṭhṇa, sit.
laiṇā, take.
dēṇā, give.
pauṇā, fall.
uṭhṇā, rise.
kharṇā, stand.
dēkhṇa, see.
khāṇa, eat.
pīṇā, drink.
bōlṇā, say.
sauṇā, sleep, lie down.
karna, do.
raihṇā, remain.
bāhṇā, mārnā, beat.
pachāṇṇā, recognise.
painā, sharp.
bujjhṇā, know.
pujjṇā, arrive.
dauṛnā, run.
nhassī jāṇā, run away.
baṇāṇā, make.
thaiṇā, place.
sādṇā, call.
mīlṇā, meet.
sikkhṇā, learn.
parhṇā, read.
likhṇā, write.
marnā, die.
suṇṇā, hear.
haṭṇā, turn.
haṭī aunā, return.
bṳehṇā, flow.
laṛna, fight.
jittṇā, win.
hārnā, defeated.
calējānā, go away.
bāhṇa, sow.
haḷ bāhṇa, plough.
khuāṇa, cause to eat.
piāṇā, cause to drink.
suṇāṇā, cause to hear.
cugṇā, graze.
cārnā carāṇa, cause to graze.

NUMERALS.

Cardinal.

1—ēk.
2—dūī.
3—trāē.
4—cār.
5—pānj.
6—chau.
7—sāt.
8—āṭh.
9—nau.
10—das.
11—gyārā.
12—bārā.
13—tēhrā.
14—caudā.
15—pandrā.
16—sōḷā.
17—satārā.
18—ṭhārā.

Maṇḍeāḷī.

NUMERALS—*concluded.*

Ordinal.

19—unnī.	67—satāhaṭ.
20—bīh.	69—aṇhattar.
27—satāī.	70—sattar.
29—aṇattri.	77—satēūtar.
30—trīh.	79—unāsī.
37—satattrī.	80—assī.
39—antuāḷī.	87—satāsī.
40—cāḷī.	89—nauūē.
47—satāḷī.	90—nabbē.
49—aṇaunjā.	97—satānūē.
50—panjāh.	100—sau.
57—sataunjā.	200—dūī sau.
59—aṇāhat.	1,000—hajār.
60—saṭṭh.	100,000—lakkh.

Cardinal.

1st, paihlū.	paihlī bārī, first time.
2nd, dujjā.	dujjī „ second time.
3rd, trījjā.	ēk gūṇā, onefold.
4th, cauthā.	das gūṇā, tenfold.
5th, pajnūā̃.	āddhā, half.
6th, chaṭṭhūā̃.	pauṇē dūī, 1¾.
7th, satūā̃.	sawā dūī, 2¼.
10th, dasūā̃.	dhāī, 2½.
50th, panjāhūā̃.	ḍēōḍh, 1½.

sāḍḍhē cār, 4½.

SENTENCES.

1. Tērā kyā naō̃ hā? What is thy name?

2. Ēh ghōṛā kitnī barsā rā hōā? How old is this horse?

3. Yētthī gē Kasmīr kitnā kŭ dūr hā? From here how far is Kashmir?

4. Tērē bābbē rē gharā kitnē gābhrū hē? In thy father's house how many sons are there?

5. Aj haū baṛe dūrā gē haṇḍīkē āyā. To-day I from very far have walking come.

6. Mērē cācā rā gābhrū tēsrī baihṇi sāūgē biāhā hūīrā. My uncle's son is married to his sister.

Maṇḍeālī.

7. Gharā sufēdā ghōṛē rī jīn hī. In the house is the white horse's saddle.

8. Ěsrī piṭṭhī prallē jīn kasī dēā. On his back bind the saddle.

9. Maī tĕsrē gābhrū jō bauht bāhī. I beat his son very much.

10. Uppūr dhārā rē sīrē par gāē bakrī cārā hā (*or* carāē karā̃ hā *or* carāndā lagīrā hā). Above on the top of the hill he is grazing cows and goats (or is in the habit of grazing, or is now grazing).

11. Sē tĕs ḍāḷā hēṭh ghōṛe prallē baīṭhīrā. He under that tree is seated on the horse.

12. Tĕsrā bhāī apṇī baihṇī gē baḍḍā. His brother is bigger than his sister.

13. Tisrā mul ḍhāī rupayyā hē. Its price is two and a half rupees

14. Mērā bāb tĕs halkĕ gharā whittar (manjh) rahā̃ hā. My father lives in that small house.

15. Tisjō inhā rupayyē dēī dēā. Give him these rupees.

16. Tinhā ḍhabbē tĕsti lēī lā. Those pice take from him,

17. Tisjō bauht mārīkē rassi kē bannhā. Having beaten him well bind him with ropes.

18. Khūē gē pāṇī kaḍḍh. Take out water from the well.

19. Māthē aggē calā. Walk before me.

20. Kēsrā gābhrū tuddh picche aundā lagīrā ? Whose son is coming behind you ?

21. Sē tussē kistē mullē lēā ? From whom did you buy that ?

22. Grāwā̃ rē haṭṭīwālē gē lēā āssē mullē. We bought it from a shopkeeper of the village.

NORTH MANḌEĀḶĪ.

Only these points are noted in which North Manḍĕāḷī differs from Manḍĕāḷī proper.

NOUNS.

The Ablative is formed with *gē*, from.

dēd, sister, is thus declined :—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
N.	dēd	dēdd-ā
G. D. A. L. Ab	dēdd-ā ra, &c.	-ā, &c.
Ag.	-ē	-ē

PRONOUNS.

Singular.

	1st	2nd	3rd	ēh, this
N.	...	tū	...	...
G.	...	...	fem. tĕsrā rā	ēsrā *f.* ēssārā
D. A.	munjō	tujō	...	...
L.	...	...	...	...
Ab.	maīgē	tuddhgē	...	...
Ag.	...	taī	tīnīē, tīnē, *f.* tĕssē	inīē, īnē, *f.* ĕssē

Plural.

	1st	2nd	3rd
N.	...	...	tẽõ
G.	mhārā	thārā	tīnhārā
Ag.	āssē	tussē	tīnhē

kuṇ, who? Ag. s. *kuṇīē*.

jō, who, Ag. s. *jinīē*.

kōī, someone, anyone, Ag. *kĕsī*.

ADJECTIVES.

Demonstrative.	*Correlative.*	*Interrogative.*	*Relative.*
ēhṛā, like this or that	tēhṛā	kēhṛā	jēhṛā
ētra, so much or many	tētrā	kētra	jētrā

North Maṇḍeāḷī.

ADVERBS.

prŏsh, day after to-morrow or day before yesterday.	uphrau, up
ētthi tāũ, up to here	bunhē, down
ētthī gē, from here	nēṛ, near
	bhittar, inside

PREPOSITIONS.

andhar, bic, within	maī nēṛē, besides me
thāllē, below	maī kannē, with me
tāũ, up to	

VERBS.

Auxiliary.

Pres.	1st Sing. hē,	3rd s. hā or hē
Past.	thēā Pl. thīē	*f*. thī.

Intransitive Verbs.

pauṇā, fall.

Past	paiĕā,	*f*. paiī	Pl. paiē
Participle	paiīrā hōā, in the state of having fallen		

hōnā, be, become.

Past	hōā

auṇā, come.

Fut.	aũghā
Imper.	ā ā

jāṇā, go.

Fut.	jaṇghā
Imp.	jā - jā ā

rāhṇā, remain.

Fut.	rāhṇghā
Imper.	rāh rāhā
Past Cond.	rāhndā
Past Indic	rēhā

baṭhṇā, bashṇā, sit.

Past	baṭṭh

Transitive Verb.

dīṇā, give.

Fut.	dīghā
Past Cond.	dīndā
Past.	ditta

North Maṇḍeālī.

leuṇā, take.

Fut.	lãgha, laũ
Past Cond.	lēnda
Past Indic	lēā

galāṇā, say.

Past	galāyā

jāṇṇā, know.

Past	jāṇĕā

lēū auṇā, *bring*, like auṇā.

The future does not appear to have the indecl. form found in Manḍĕāḷ proper, *e.g.*, *pauṇg māṛaṇg*. The 1st S. however has an alternative form in *ũ* as *pauũ*, *bāhũ*, I shall fall, strike.

The partic. faller or about to fall, &c., dispenses with the *ē* in the middle thus, *mārnwāḷā* or *bāhṇwālā*, striker.

The Past Cond. is used for the present Indic., very commonly in negativs sentences and occasionally in affirmative sentences.

bābbā, father.
īj, mother.
bharĕāṛū, *bhāī*, brother.
beuihṇ, sister.
dēd, elder sister
bēbbī, younger sister.
māhṇū, man.
māhtimī, woman.
bŏld, ox.
kūtt-ā, dog.
-ī, bitch.
gāddhā, ass.
sūṇgar, pig.
paīr, foot.
shīr, hair.
pyēṭ, stomach.
pīṇḍā, body.
kāgad, book.
nāl, stream.
pahāṛ, hill.
bāgṛī, field.
shaīhr, city.
jaṇgal, jungle.
mbachḷī, fish.
paīṇḍā, way.
phŏl, fruit.
dūddh, milk.
āṇḍā, egg.
ghēū, ghī.
bāk, strong wind.
bējā, seed.
bāṇkā, fine, good, &c.
bŏḍḍā, big.
dariḷdī, lazy.
sĕāṇā, wise.
gũār, ignorant.
ṭhŏṇḍā, cold.
matā, much, many.
baṭhṇā, bashṇā, sit.
galāṇā, say.
rāhṇā, remain.
paũhcṇā, arrive.
nhaṭhṇā, nhāshṇā, run.
bōlṇā, call.
shikkhṇā, learn.
shuṇṇā, hear.
calē auṇā, return.
baihṇā, flow.
khiāṇā, cause to eat.
shuṇāṇā cause to hear.
lēṭṇā, lie down.

North Maṇḍeāḷī.

NUMERALS.

Cardinal.

3—trāī.	59—ṇāhaṭ.
6—chīā.	60—shaṭṭh.
7—sātt.	69—ṇhattar.
13—tērā.	77—satattar.
29—nattrī.	79—nuāsī.
39—aṇtūāḷī.	90—nabbā.
49—ṇunjā.	100—s͟hau, saikṛā.
57—satūnjā.	100,000—lākh.

Ordinal.

5th, panjūā.	10th, dasūā.
6th, chaũūā.	50th, panjāhūā.
7th, sattūā.	ḍēḍḍh, 1½.

The following sentences are very slightly different from those under Maṇḍĕāḷī proper, but when they happen to have another turn of expression they are worth recording :—

2. Ĕs ghōṛē rī kētri umar hī ? What is the age of this horse ?

3. Ĕtthīgē Kas͟hmīrā tāũ kētrā dūr hā ? From here to Kashmir how far is it ?

4. Thārē bābbā rē gharē kētrē laṛke hē ? In your father's house how many sons are there ?

5. Haū baṛē dūrā gē haṇḍī kannē āyā. I have come walking from very far.

6. Mērē cācē rā bēṭā ĕsrī bēūhṇī kannē biāhā hōā. My uncle's son is married to his sister.

7. Gharā manjhē hacchē ghōṛē rī kāṭhī hī. In the house is the white horse's saddle.

8. Ĕsrī piṭṭhī mā̃ jīṇ kōs. On his back bind the saddle.

9. Maī ĕsrā bēṭā baṛā mārĕā. I beat his son much.

10. Sē pahāṛā rī cōṭī mā̃ gāīā bākrī carāndā. He on the top of the hill is grazing cows and goats.

11 Ĕs ḍālā hēṭh ghōṛē upphar baṭṭhirā. Under this tree he is seated on a horse.

12. Ĕsrā bhāī apṇī bēūhṇī gē waḍḍā. His brother is bigger than his sister.

North Maṇḍeālī.

13. Mērā bāb ĕs halkē gharā mā̃ rāhndā. My father lives in this small house.

15. Ĕs̲h̲jō ēh rupayyā dēā. To him this rupee give.

16. Ĕsgē ruppayyā lēī lau. From him take the rupee.

17. Ĕs̲h̲jo bāhīē ras̲h̲īē bannhō. Having beaten him bind him with ropes.

18. Bāī gē pāṇī kaḍḍh. From the spring take out water.

19. Maī gē aggē cal. Walk before me.

20. Kēsrā laṛka tussā pichhē āē. Whose boy is coming behind you?

21. Tussē kĕ sgē mul lēā? From whom did you buy it?

22. Grāū̃ rē ēk dukāndārā gē. From a shopkeeper of the village.

CHOṬĀ BANGHĀLĪ.

The following grammatical forms are those in which the Manḍēāḷī spoken in that portion of Chōṭā Baṇghāḷ which lies in Maṇḍi State, differs from North Manḍĕāḷī generally :—

PRONOUNS.

Singular.

	1st	2nd	3rd	eh, this.
N.	hau̐, maī	...	...	...
G.	...	...	tisrā, *f.* tissā rā	...
D. A.	minjō	tījjō	...	...
Ab.	maṇgē	tuggē	...	..
Ag.	...	taī	tinnī, *f.* tissē	īnnī, *f.* īssē.

Plural.

	1st	2nd
N.	assē̃	tussē̃
G.	mhārá, assā̃ rā	tussā̃ rā
D. A.	assā̃ jō	„ jō
Ag.	assā̆	tussā̃

ADJECTIVES.

ĕtnā, so much or many.	titnā	kĕtnā,	jĕtnā

ADVERBS.

kai, why?

VERBS.

Auxiliary.

Pres. I am, Sing. m. hā

Intransitive Verbs.

paunā, fall.

Participle. pēirā, in the state of having fallen.

ōṇā, come.

Past āyā

Choṭā Banghāḷī.

jāṇā, go.

Fut. jāṇghā

raihṇā, remain.

Past rēhā

In Chōṭā Baṇghāḷ also is found that peculiar fem. past of *bāhṇā* thus :—

mai tisjō dō trai bāhī, I struck him two or three blows; *mai tisjō do trai thapṛē rī bāhī*, I struck him two or three blows or slaps.

In expressing the idea of ability with the passive voice, and in certain other cases the participle or infinitive is very strangely kept undeclined, as—

ēh kitāb maṇgē nīh paṛhēā jāndī, I cannot read this book.
rōṭī maṇgē nīh khāyā jāndī, I cannot eat bread.
khaccar nīh maṇgē rōkēā jāndī, I cannot stop the mule.
phulkē nīh minjo ōndē pakāṇā, I cannot cook phulke (*lit.* phulke do not come to me to cook).

In these cases on the analogy of Urdū and Panjābi we should expect *paṛhī, khāī, rōkī, pakāṇē.*

The following words taken from the beginning of the list show how slightly Chōṭā Baṇghāḷī differs from N. Maṇḍēāḷī.

bāppā, father.	bakr -ī, she-goat.
īj, mother.	bhēḍ, sheep.
bhāū, brother.	kutt -i, dog.
bēbbē, baihṇ, sister.	-ī, bitch.
munnū, son.	ricch, bear.
bēṭṭī, daughter.	mirg, leopard.
khasm, husband.	gadhā, ass.
lāṛī, wife.	sūr, pig.
māhṇū, man.	kukk-aṛ, cock.
janāna, woman.	-ṛī, hen.
chōhr-ū, boy.	bill-ā, cat, (male).
-ī, girl.	-ī, ,, (female).
guāḷū, shepherd.	ūṭ, camel.
cōr, thief.	hāthī, elephant.
ghōṛ-ā, horse.	hāth, hand.
-ī, mare.	pair, foot.
mhaīh, buffalo.	nakk, nose.
bakr -ā, he-goat.	hakkhī, eye.

APPENDIX II.

MANDI STATE STAGING RULES.

A.—Dak Bungalows and Rest-houses.

1. There are public dâk bungalows at the following stages, at which *khansámas, bhistis* and sweepers are maintained by the State —

Dhelu, Jhatingri, Bhadwáni, Urla, Drang, Kataula and Mandi.

2. Travellers can obtain shelter for 24 hours in a dâk bungalow at a charge of one rupee each.

(*i*) Each adult person will be charged a separate fee, unless two or more persons are obliged by want of accommodation to occupy the same room, when each person is liable for half the prescribed fee.

(*ii*) It is to be observed that the rules make no exception in favour of married couples who occupy the same room.

(*iii*) If a traveller does not stay the night, a fee of eight annas only will be charged.

3. Government officials are not exempted from paying the above charges, even though they may be travelling on Government duty.

4. No traveller can claim shelter in a staging bungalow for more than 24 hours, after the expiry of which he *must leave, if required to do so by* other travellers seeking accommodation.

5. There are State rest-houses at Galma, Bhámla and Jhungi which may be occupied with the permission of the Darbár, application for which should be addressed to the Assistant Superintendent, Mandi. No charge is made for their occupation from Government officials travelling on duty : other travellers are required to pay a charge of eight annas a day each.

6. Whoever loses, breaks or damages any furniture or other property belonging to any bungalow must pay the value of the article or of the repairs, as the case may be. The prices are shown in the list kept by the *khansáma* or *chowkidár*.

7. There are rest-houses for Indian travellers at Dhelu, Jhatingri and Kataula, application to occupy which should be addressed to the Tahsıldár, Hara Bágh. No charge is made for their occupation from Government officials travelling on duty : other travellers are required to pay a charge of four annas a day.

8. All travellers are required to enter their names and addresses in full in the dâk bungalow and rest-house books.

B.—COOLIES AND MULES.

1. Six coolies are permanently maintained by the Darbár under a *jamadár* at each of the dâk bungalow stages ; from 1st December to 31st March this number is reduced to two at Jhatingri and Bhadwáni. But travellers intending to pass through the State are recommended to bring their luggage on mules, and thereby save themselves the trouble connected with coolies who are not procurable without notice.

2. Ordinarily three days' clear notice is required by the *jamadár* for the supply of coolies, and therefore travellers should give at least sevendays' notice of their requirements to the Assistant Superintendent, Mandi, or the Tahsildár, Hara Bágh.

3. The rates of coolie hire per stage are as follows :—

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
Dhelu to Urla	0	5	0	Urla to Drang	0	4	0
Urla to Jhatingri	0	5	0	Drang to Kataula	0	5	0
Jhatingri to Bhadwáni	0	4	0	Kataula to Bajaura	0	8	0
Bhadwáni to Karáon	0	8	0	Mandi to Kataula	0	5	0
Mandi to Suket	0	5	0	Mandi to Drang	0	4	0

plus a commission of 6 pies payable to the *jamadár* for each coolie.

4. Coolies may only be engaged for a journey from one stage to the next and may not be detained any further.

5. For each day that a coolie is kept waiting for a traveller after the date for which notice has been given, and for each day's halt during which a coolie is detained, a sum of two annas is payable by the traveller. Coolies will not be kept waiting for a traveller for more than two days.

6. The maximum load for a coolie is 24 seers for ordinary stages; for marches across the Bhubu and Dulchi passes the load should not exceed 20 seers.

7. Mules and ponies are not procurable at any stage except Mandi.

8. The permanent coolies maintained at each dâk bungalow stage are required to assist in the loading and unloading of travellers' luggage without remuneration ; but if required for any other service they are to be paid at the rate of 4 annas each per diem.

C.—SUPPLIES.

1. At every dák bungalow stage there is a shopkeeper to supply grain, *áta, ghi*, etc. The rates of these articles are not fixed officially and so are liable to variation.

2. The current rates of a few articles are given below for the information of travellers :—

Milk	2 annas a seer.
Charcoal	At Drang and Dhelu Re. 1-4-0 a maund. At other stages Re. 1 a maund.
Dry grass	2 maunds a rupee.
Green grass	3 maunds a rupee.
Firewood	At Drang and Dhelu $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds a rupee. Other stages 3 maunds a rupee.
Chickens ...	8 annas each.
Fowls	10 " "
Eggs	8 annas per dozen.

At Mandi soda water is procurable at the rate of one anna a bottle from the State factory.

As sheep and goats are not kept in the proximity of the stages, it is necessary, if they are required, that notice should be given in the same manner as for coolies. Average rate is for a sheep Rs. 7 and a goat Rs. 5.

NOTE.—To save delay travellers are requested to write direct to the Assistant Superintendent, Mandi State

By order of the Durbár, 15*th June* 1919.

APPENDIX III.

Fishing and Shooting Rules in Mandi State.

A.—Fishing.—Fishing is governed by the Mandi Fisheries Regulation No. I of Sambat 1973 (1916 A. D.) and Rules passed thereunder, of which the following is a *résumé* :—

(1) All fishing within the State is absolutely prohibited, except under license from the Darbár.

( ) The use of dynamite or other explosive substance and the use of any kind of poison are absolutely prohibited.

(3) The following waters are sanctuaries and no fish of any species may be caught therein —

(*a*) The Riwálsár lake.

(*b*) The Uhl river from the north boundary of the State down to the Kamánd bridge on the Mandi-Kataula road.

(*c*) The Rána river from its confluence with the Manoh *khad* to a point immediately below Sukha Bágh.

(*d*) All springs from their source to a distance of 600 yards down-stream, or to their confluence with a larger stream whichever distance is the shorter.

(4) Licensees are permitted to fish as follows :—

(*a*) *Suketi river.*—From its junction with the Beás to the water mills (*Pulán rá grat*) about one mile above Mandi town, fishing is permitted by rod and line only, under an "angling" license. For the rest of its course see (*d*) below.

(*b*) *Upper Beás.*—From the confluence of the Tirthan at Lárji to the point where the Beás leaves the State (near Bajaura), fishing is permitted only by rod and line or casting net with a minimum mesh of 1½ inch bar measure, under a "special" license. For the rest of its course see (*d*) below.

(*c*) *Tirthan river and its tributaries.*—Fishing is permitted by rod and line only, under an "angling" license.

(*d*) In all other waters fishing is permitted under a "general" license subject to the following conditions :—

(*i*) The following methods only may be employed—stake net (*nalotu*), casting net (*jál*), spear (*bhála*), long line with hooks (*pathiálu*) and rod and line with not more than three hooks.

(*ii*) No stake-net may be affixed in or across the mouth of any tributary from 1st Hár (middle of July) to last day of Bhádon (middle of September) between the hours of sunset and sunrise.

(*iii*) The use of weirs (*bár*) and traps including chips and of all nets having a mesh measuring less than 1½ inch on each side, and all other methods used to catch small fry, are prohibited.

(5) Any violation of the provisions of the Fisheries Regulation or of the Rules passed thereunder is punishable with 2 months' imprisonment, or Rs. 100 fine, or both.

(6) Applications for licenses or for any information on the subject of fishing should be addressed to the Superintendent, Mandi State.

B.—Shooting.

(1) All persons permanently resident within the State and all persons holding permanent employment under the Darbár are permitted to shoot.

In all other cases shooting is prohibited, except under license from the Darbár.

(2) The capture or killing of all birds and animals, except leopard and black bear, is prohibited between the first day of Chet (middle of March) and the last day of Bhádon (middle of September), both days inclusive.

(3) The capture or killing of the following species are at all times strictly prohibited :—

(a) *Munál* pheasant (*munál*).

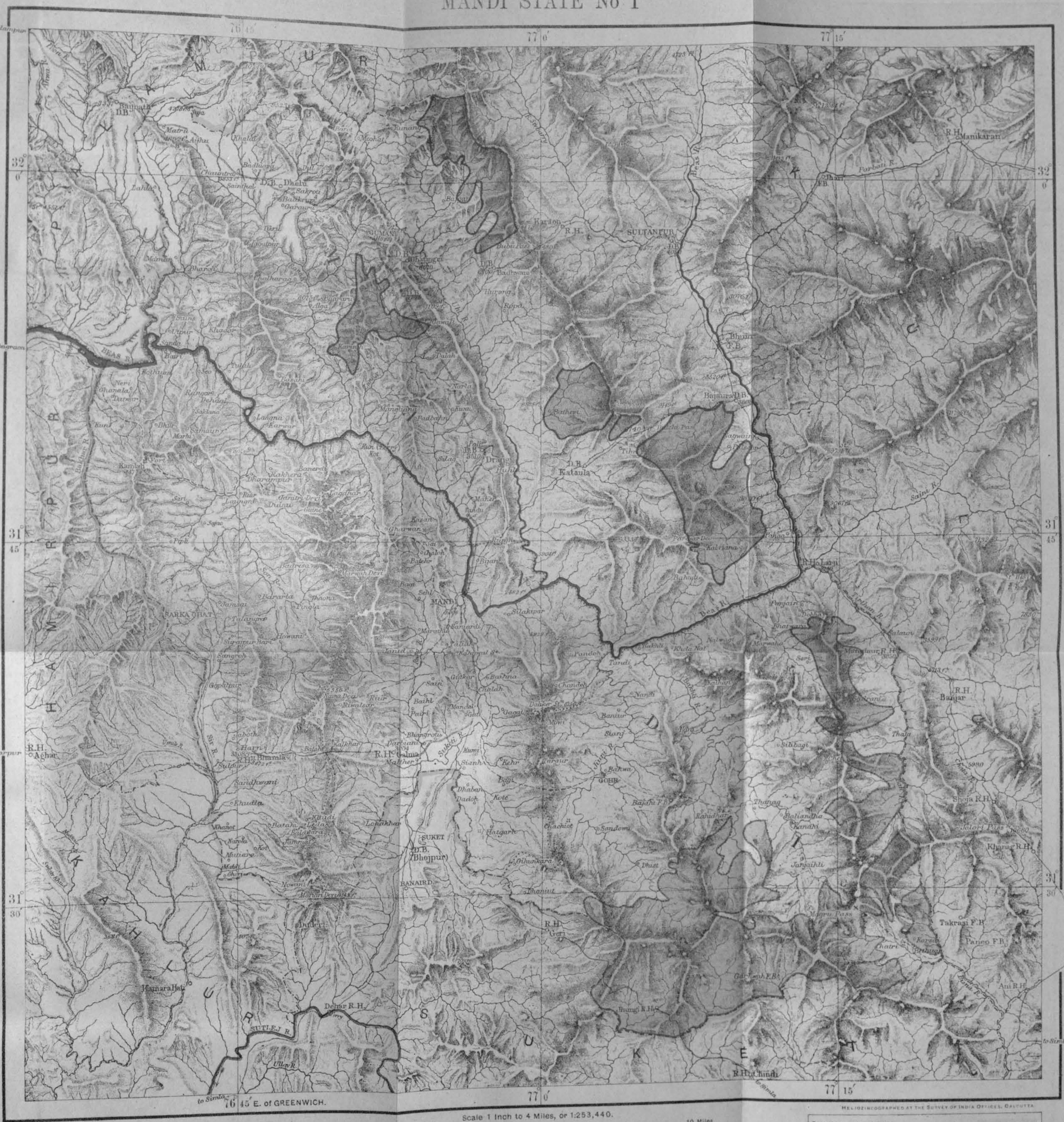
(b) Tragopant ,, (*phulgar* or *jujurána*),

(c) Pea-fowl (*mor*).

(d) Musk deer (*mushk-náfa* or *bina*).

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MANDI STATE No I



Scale 1 Inch to 4 Miles, or 1:253,440.

Miles 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 Miles

Rs. N. 2885 E. 19.—550.

Cart Road
Mule-path
Foot-path
Dak Bungalow. Rest House. Forest Bungalow. D.B. R.H. F.B.

HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA

Boundary :— Mandi State
" Other states and districts
" Tahsil
" Main forest areas
Temple
Fort

This map has been specially prepared for the Mandi State Gazetteer & is based on India Atlas Sheet, No. 47, published in 1859.

MANDI STATE No II



Rev. No. 2555 S. 19 - 450.

Cart Road	
Mule-path	
Foot-path	
Dak Bungalow. Rest House. Forest Bungalow.	D.B. R.H. F.B.

Scale 1 Inch to 4 Miles, or 1:253,440.

Miles 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 Miles

I	Harabagh circle
II	Western ,,
III	Maidani ,,
IV	Darmiani ,,
V	Pahari ,,

HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA

Boundary:- Mandi State

,, Other states and districts

,, Assessment Circle

,, Main forest areas

Temple ... Fort

This map has been specially prepared for the Mandi State Gazetteer & is based on India Atlas Sheet. No. 47, published in 1859.